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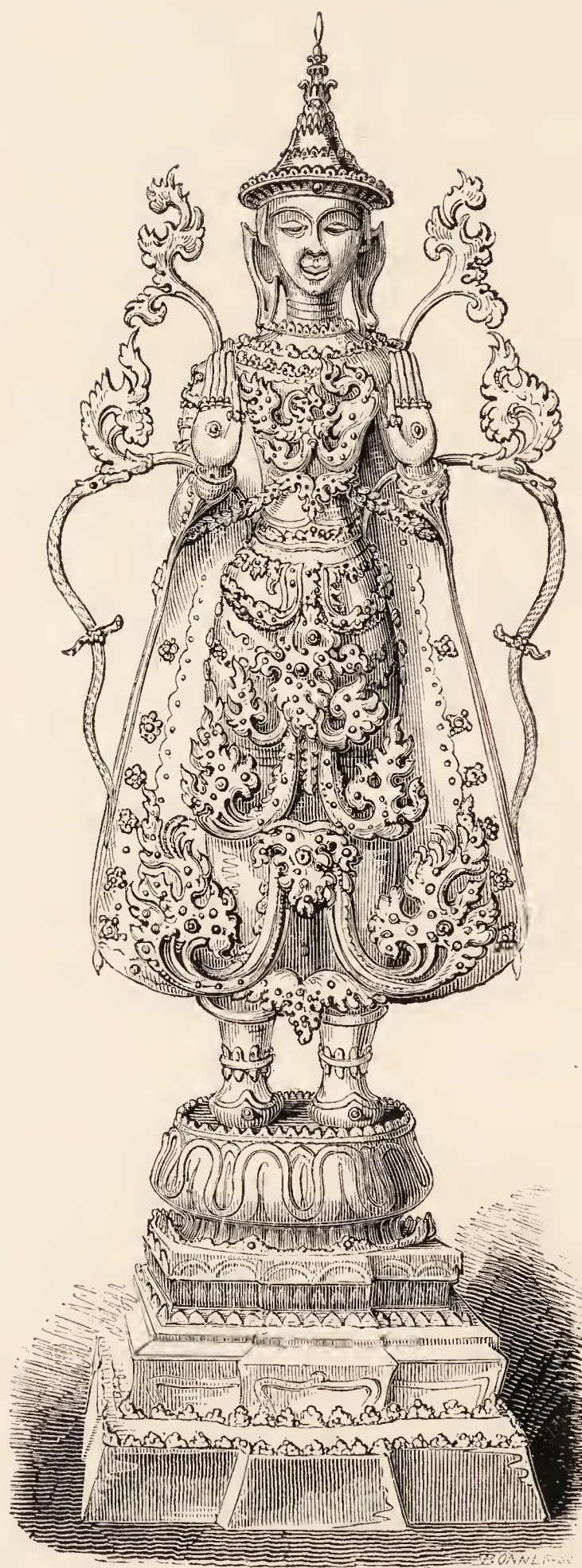


IMAGE FROM THE GREAT PAGODA AT RANGOON,  
Imagined to represent the Burman Conqueror Alompra.



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# JOURNAL OF AN EMBASSY

FROM THE

GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA

TO

## THE COURT OF AVA.

BY

JOHN CRAWFURD, ESQ. F.R.S. F.L.S. F.G.S. &c.

LATE ENVOY.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING A DESCRIPTION OF FOSSIL REMAINS,

BY

PROFESSOR BUCKLAND AND MR. CLIFT.

SECOND EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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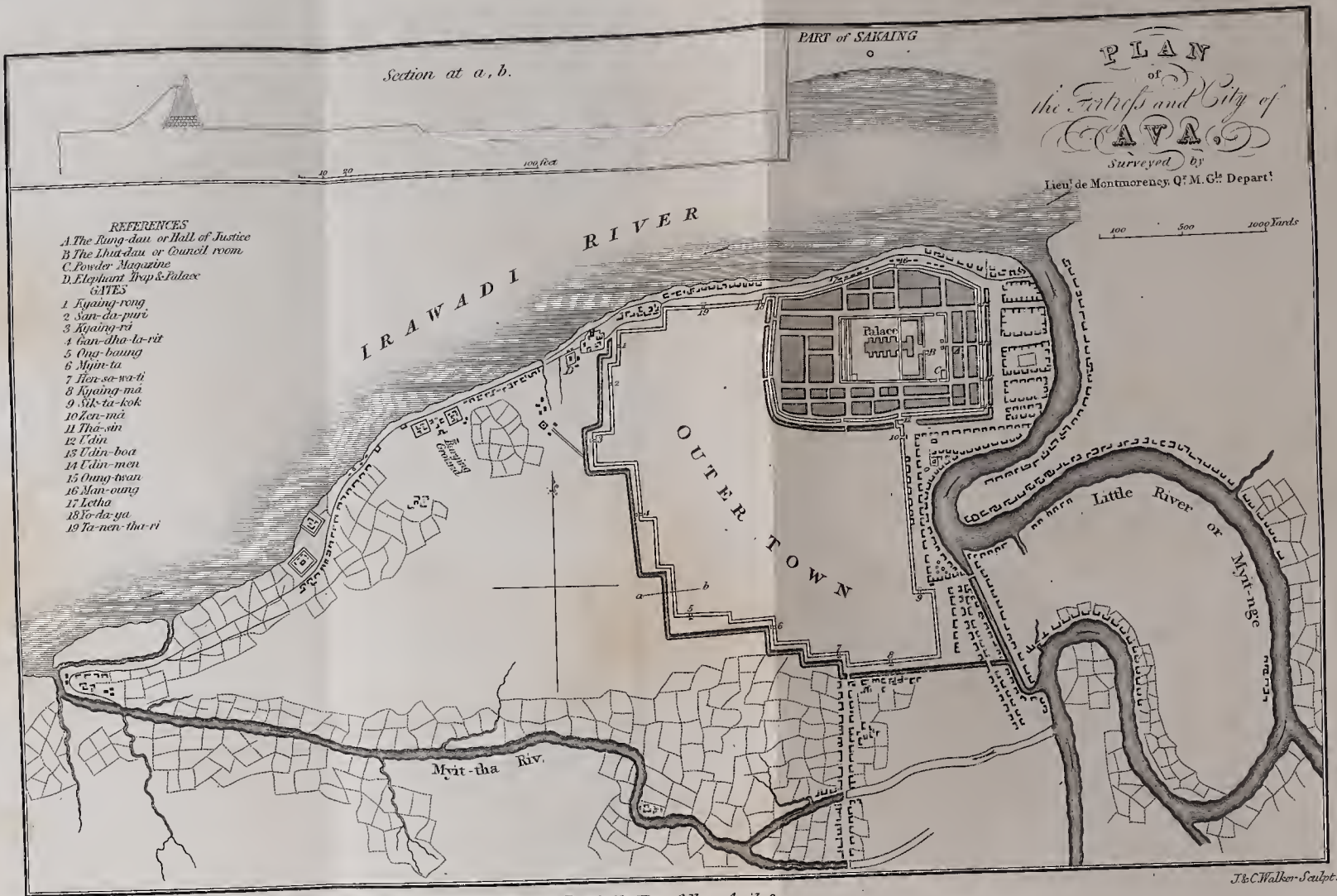
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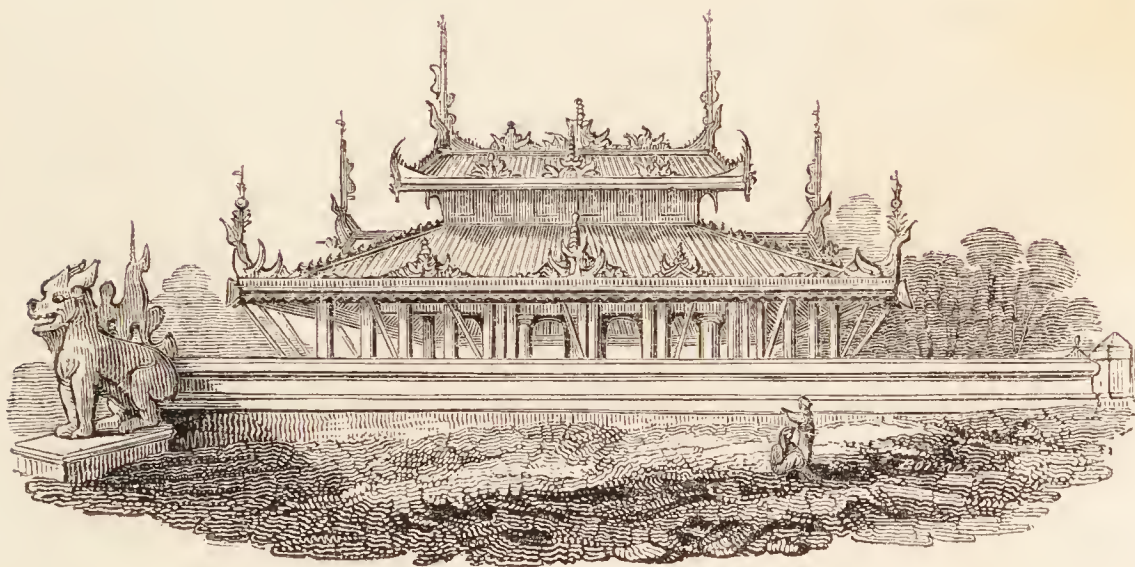




# JOURNAL OF AN EMBASSY

TO THE

## COURT OF AVA.



A Burman Chapel, or Zayat.

### CHAPTER I.

Description of the Capital.—Ava.—Name, Site, and Fortifications.—Dwellings.—Markets.—Temples.—Town of Sagaing.—Towns and Districts annexed to the Capital.—Population.

I SHALL devote this short chapter to such a description of the towns of Ava and Sagaing, as I was enabled to collect during my residence at the capital. The town of Ava, twice before the



capital of the Burman Empire, was made so, a third time, in 1822, by his present Majesty. It lies in North latitude  $21^{\circ} 50'$ , and East longitude  $96^{\circ}$ . The native popular name of the place is Angwa, meaning a fish-pond, which the Hindus and Malays have corrupted into Awa, and the European nations, again, borrowing from them, into Ava, a word which we have extended to the whole kingdom. In all public writings, as already mentioned, the capital is denominated Ratanapura, or the City of Gems. The following description of the fortifications and site of the town was carefully drawn up by my friend M. Montmorency, and will be readily understood by a reference to the accompanying plan, laid down by the same gentleman.

“The city of Ava is surrounded by a brick wall fifteen and a half feet in height, and ten feet in thickness: on the inside of which there is thrown up a bank of earth forming about an angle of forty-five degrees: on the top of this bank there is a *terre pleine*, in some places, of a good breadth, but in others, so narrow as scarcely to admit the recoil of a gun. The parapet of brickwork is four and a half feet in height, and two in thickness, measured across the superior slope.

“There are innumerable embrasures at about the distance of five feet from each other, the cheeks of which are formed in such a way as to prevent any thing but a direct fire. On the Ira-

wadi face there is scarcely one flank defence. The wall of the outer town is miserably built, and is continually requiring repair, no doubt chiefly from the pressure of the earth thrown up inside. The ditch round the outer wall is also inconsiderable, and during all the dry season fordable in every part.

“ The south and west faces of the town are defended by a deep and rapid torrent, called the Myit-tha, leading from the Myit-ngé. This is not fordable, for the banks are very steep; and even when crossed, the swamp and jungle on the west face, between it and the town, with the extensive plain of rice culture on the south, are formidable obstructions. There is a good road, however, on the banks of this brook all the way up, as well as by the banks of the Irawadi towards the north-west angle. The approach to the south-west angle is well defended, the wall there being constructed *en cremalliere*.

“ The Myit-ngé on the east face forms a considerable part of the defence on that side. This river, about one hundred and fifty yards broad, is a fine rapid stream, and the banks of it very steep and high: the river not running in such a manner as to form any part of the defence of the south-east angle of the city, a deep canal has been cut from the Myit-ngé, at the south-east angle, to about one-third the way down the east face of the city wall, where it again falls into the same river.



The torrent here is very rapid,—so much so, that boats can with great difficulty stem the stream. The lesser town, which forms the north-east angle, comprehends one-half of the north and one-third of the east faces : the wall round it is evidently better constructed than that of the large town. The ditch on the south and west faces of it is also broader and deeper, and when full in the wet season is not to be forded. There are, however, three causeways across it which it would take some time to destroy, in case of a sudden attack. The lesser town is mostly occupied by the palace; the Rung-d'hau, or hall of justice; the Lut-d'hau, or council chamber; the arsenal, and the habitations of a few courtiers of distinction. There is a strong well-built wall, about twenty feet in height, surrounding the square in which these are situated. On the outside of this wall, and at no great distance, there is a teak-wood stockade of the same height as the wall. The Irawadi opposite the Manaong gate, or that fronting the town of Sagaing, is one thousand and ninety-four yards broad."

The circumference of Ava round the walls, and excluding the suburbs, is about five and a half miles. In general, the houses are mere huts, thatched with grass. Some of the dwellings of the chiefs are constructed of planks, and tiled, and there are probably in all not half-a-dozen houses constructed of brick and mortar. Poor as the houses are, they are thinly scattered over the

extensive area of the place, and some large quarters are, indeed, wholly destitute of habitations, and mere neglected commons. Including one large one in the suburb, lying between the town and the little river, there are eleven markets or bazars, composed, as usual, of thatched huts and sheds : the three largest are called Je-kyo, Sara-wadi, and Shan-ze. We passed more than once through the greater number of these markets, and found them well supplied, at least, on an estimate of the wants and habits of the people. Besides native commodities, there are exposed for sale in them such of the produce of China and Lao as are used by the Burmans, with British cottons, woollens, glass, and earthenware.

In Ava, of course, there are many temples, the tall white, or gilded spires of which, give to the distant view of the place a splendid and imposing appearance, far from being realized on a closer examination. Some of the principal of these may be enumerated : the largest of all is called Lo-ga-thar-bu and consists of two portions, or rather of two distinct temples ; one in the ancient, the other in the modern form. In the former, there is an image of Gautama in the common sitting posture, of enormous magnitude. Colonel Symes imagined this statue to be a block of marble ; but this is a mistake, for it is composed of sandstone. A second very large temple is called Angwa Sé-kong ; and a third, Ph'ra-l'ha, or “ the beautiful.” A



fourth temple, of great celebrity, is named Maong-Ratna. This is the one in which the public officers of the Government take with great formality the oath of allegiance. A fifth temple is named Maha-mrat-muni. I inspected an addition which was made to this temple a short time before our arrival. It was merely a Zayat, or chapel, and chiefly constructed of wood: it however exceeded in splendour any thing we had seen without the Palace. The roof was supported by a vast number of pillars: these, as well as the ceiling, were richly gilt throughout. The person at whose expense all this was done was a Burman merchant, or rather broker, from whom we learned that the cost was forty thousand ticals, about 5,000*l.* sterling. When the building was completed he respectfully presented it to his Majesty, not *daring* to take to himself the whole merit of so pious an undertaking.

The Burman monasteries are usually built of wood only; and of those of more solid materials, a few ancient ones in ruins only are to be seen. There is however one exception in a very spacious one lately built by the Queen, close to the Palace. This is a clumsy fabric of immense size, and a very conspicuous object in approaching Ava. Of the population of Ava I shall afterwards speak.

The town of Sagaing is situated on the opposite side of the Irawadi to Ava, and directly fronting it. On the river-face it has a brick wall, which

extends for about half a mile : the height of this is not above ten feet ; but it has a *terre pleine* parapet and embrasures, like the wall of Ava. To each flank of the brick wall there is a stockade of a paltry description, erected during the late war. Inland there are no defences whatsoever. Sagaing extends along the Irawadi to the distance of better than a mile and a half, but its depth towards the hills is very inconsiderable : it consists, as elsewhere, of mean houses, thinly scattered among gardens and orchards ; the principal trees in the latter consisting of fine old tamarinds. Over the site of the town and its environs there are innumerable temples, ruinous, old, or modern, too conspicuous not to be noticed in describing the place.

The Burman capital is not confined to the town of Ava, but embraces also Sagaing and Amarapura, with the large districts attached to all three. Ava, with its district, extends along the river for six taings, or about twelve miles, and its depth inland is half this extent. Amarapura is of the same size. Sagaing, with its district, extends for six taings along the river, and is of equal depth. According to this wide acceptation, the capital embraces an area of two hundred and eighty-eight miles. The number of villages contained in this space, the subdivisions of the town being each reckoned as one, was given to me as follow : —for Ava, 320 ; for Amarapura, 45 ; and for Sagaing, 146 ; making in all, 511. The returns of



the population, in 1825, gave 46,000 houses or families. It is usual, however, for the Wuns, or heads of districts, to give in the census at considerably less than its real amount; and this deficiency is commonly estimated at a tithe, which would raise the actual number of families to 50,600. According to the Burman estimate, each family is reckoned at seven individuals, which would give a total population of 354,200.\* This is at the rate of about 692 souls for each village or subdivision, and of 1229 to the square mile,—a very trifling population, when it is considered that three towns and the best cultivated portions of the empire are included in the enumeration. These statements respecting the extent and population of the capital, were furnished to me by a person who had actually perused the public registers, which are kept by one of the Atwenwuns, or privy counsellors, charged with this particular department; and the certain inference to be drawn from them is, that the total population of the whole kingdom must be very trifling, and its amount in all former accounts greatly exaggerated. All this will appear the more probable, when it is considered that the inhabitants of the capital enjoy, as will afterwards be explained, pe-

\* The Myowun of Sagaing informed me in conversation, that the number of houses or families in the town and district constituting his jurisdiction was 16,000, and the number of villages about 150,—a statement which may be considered as a corroboration of that given in the text.



culiar immunities in the way of taxation, which must necessarily have the effect of concentrating the population here, and withdrawing it from the provinces.

With respect to the population of the town of Ava itself, I have never heard any estimate ; and probably, considering the mode in which the inhabitants of “ the capital ” are reckoned, the Burmese have never attempted to make any. It must however, as I conceive, be very inconsiderable. On a rough estimate, the area of the town and suburbs does not exceed two miles, and, as I have already said, considerable part of this is occupied by the Palace and public buildings ; a large portion is thinly inhabited, and much altogether unoccupied. We may compare it with other Indian towns, of which the area and population have been estimated. Calcutta is said to stand on an area of about twelve miles, and to contain 300,000. Were Ava as densely peopled, which I think very improbable, it would contain 50,000 inhabitants. Perhaps half this number would be much nearer the truth.



The Budd'h of Tibet, from a Nepalese drawing.

## CHAPTER II.

Mission quits Ava.—Difficult navigation of the Irawadi in the dry season.—Description of Temples at Nyaong-Ku.—Manufactory of lackered ware at that place.—Fossil remains on the western bank of the river.—Dispatches sent to Bengal by the route of Aracan, and news received of an Insurrection of the Peguans.—Description of the country in the vicinity of the Petroleum Wells.—Steam-vessel takes the ground on a sand-bank, and is detained for eight days.—Remarkable discovery of Fossil Bones.—River Pirates.—Arrival at Prome.—Fossil remains there.—Visit to the Promontory of Kyaok-ta-ran, and arrival within the Delta of the Irawadi.—Arrival at Henzada.—Entrance into the Panlang branch of the Irawadi.—Farther account of the Insurrection of the Peguans.—Communication held with the Insurgents at Panlang.—Arrival at Rangoon.—Action between the Burmese and Insurgents.—Interview with the Wungyi, or Viceroy of Pegu.—Letter from the Burmese Council to the Governor-General.—Departure from Rangoon for Martaban.—Description of the Town of Rangoon.

*December 13.*—YESTERDAY, immediately after receiving on board the presents for the Governor-

General, we weighed anchor and began to drop down, taking our final leave of Ava. Owing to the intricacy of the passage, and the shallowness of the river, we did not get above six or seven miles below the town, where we anchored for the night.

*Dec. 15.*—On the morning of the 13th we passed Kyaok-ta-long, which is the great police station in going to and coming from Ava,—a place which, in consequence of the vexations and impositions practised by the public officers, is held in dread by merchants and travellers. Thus far we were accompanied by a Than-d'hau-gan, the same individual who had met us in going up. He was relieved by the old Governor of Bassein, who had been again appointed to conduct the Mission. In consideration of these services, he was appointed, while at Ava, one of the Rewuns of Rangoon; but declined the office, in expectation of the government of Dalla, or of some other superior appointment.

*Dec. 16.*—The very difficult and intricate navigation between Kyaok-ta-long and Yandabo detained us until this day, when at half-past three o'clock we passed the latter place, and at four the junction of the Kyendwen and the Irawadi: the former appeared now a petty stream not exceeding two hundred yards in breadth, and the latter had diminished to a quarter of a mile: after their union, however, they expand to about



three quarters of a mile. In the evening we anchored off Tarop Myo, or Chinese Town. A little way above Kyaok-ta-long the vessel struck against a reef of rocks, and close to the village of Ngamyagyi she took the ground on a sand-bank, where she remained for several hours.

*Dec. 21.*—Early on the morning of the 17th, we began to kedge down with much caution, but the vessel, notwithstanding, grounded on a sand-bank, and was not got off until the morning of the 20th, and with great difficulty. In order to lighten her, we landed almost every thing, cut off one-third of the poop, and went ashore ourselves, with our servants, taking up our residence on a sand-bank, under temporary tents. This morning every thing was again ready, and we dropped down; the gentlemen of the Mission and servants, however, proceeding in the baggage boats. The fall of the river since we went up in the end of September, was certainly not less than twenty feet.

I landed at Ngamyagyi and Tarop Myo. The rice had just been cut, and the winter crops of various pulses were in considerable progress.

*Dec. 22.*—We stopped last night at Rabá-kyaktan, which takes its name from a reef of rocks which at this place runs across the Irawadi. We pitched our temporary tents on a sand-bank in the middle of the river for the night. The reef of rocks alluded to, on examination, proved to be

breccia with much iron. The *debris* of it was scattered over the sand-bank, and consisted of quartz pebbles and clay iron ore, among which were many fragments of petrified wood with calcareous incrustations formed upon branches and roots of trees. We found one fragment, which we supposed to be fossil bone. Scattered through these ingredients were to be seen pieces of wood, and a few bones of quadrupeds undergoing the usual process of decomposition without the slightest appearance of being turned into stone, according to the popular opinion; which shows plainly enough that the waters of the Irawadi have no power of petrifying such objects, and that the process by which petrifications of vegetable and animal substances are formed is owing to some other agency. The steam-vessel passed the reef of rocks this morning, and we followed her about eight o'clock. At twelve we passed the flourishing village of Pakok'ho, where, in going up, we had seen so many trading vessels. There were now few, for the greater number had taken their departure for Rangoon and other parts of the lower country. We stopped for the night at Nyaong-ku, which, as before mentioned, is a suburb of Pagan, and the most noted place in the country for the manufacture of lacker-ware. Immediately above this place, and to the distance of about a mile, the banks of the river are high, often not less than sixty feet, and nearly perpendicular: they chiefly



consist of indurated sand, with here and there ledges of a hard calcareous sandstone: the surface of this is every where smooth, as if water-worn; and from it projections, processes, spring out in several places, of a mammiferous form, and frequently resembling stalactites upon a gigantic scale. The wreck of these huge calcareous incrustations, and of great masses of wood-stone, are found in that part of the bed of the river which is at present dry. In many situations I observed calcareous incrustations formed round a nucleus of wood-stone. In one case the mass had the resemblance of the huge trunk of a tree, the petrified wood forming as if it were the pith.

In the steep bank there are innumerable holes of various sizes, which are the residence of swallows and wild pigeons. The last are of two descriptions, the common blue pigeon and a very handsome and large green one. In the same bank, and nearly midway up, there are several artificial excavations, once the residence of Burmese ascetics; but this race has been long extinct.

In Burmese language, such pious persons are known by the name of *Rathe*,\* and in Pali by that of *Tápasa* and *Isino*.

*Dec. 23.*—Employed in making the necessary preparations for quitting the Burman boats and embarking in the steam-vessel, we did not quit

\* No doubt, a corruption of the Sanscrit word *Rasi*, a saint.



Nyaong-ku to-day until two o'clock. This gave us an opportunity of seeing the place, and examining its temples and manufactory of lackered ware. The innumerable temples of Pagan extend to Nyaong-ku, and beyond it. The most celebrated at Nyaong-ku is that called Shwe-segum, or the Golden Temple. The original building is said to have been constructed by Naurat'ha-sau, a king of Pagan, whose reign commenced in the year 359, and terminated in 392, of the Burman vulgar era. According to this statement, the building cannot be less than seven hundred and ninety-six years old. The temple itself is a solid mass of masonry, in the form of a pyramid, and gilt. The extensive area which surrounds it is crowded with a variety of wooden fanes, very richly gilt and carved, containing images of Gautama and his disciples, some of them of white marble; innumerable images of Nats in red sandstone; and some relics of great celebrity among the Burmans,—such as the statue of a horse in sandstone, representing the favourite steed of the founder; a fish called Ngakren, which represents Gautama in this form, with three celebrated Nats, one of the female and two of the male gender. These relics are of the rudest description imaginable, and such of them as aim at the form of humanity, hideously ugly. Close to this principal temple there is another in a ruinous state, of the ancient form.

Here we found two inscriptions on slabs of sandstone, apparently in the modern character, but of a very rude form, and too much defaced to be read.

Nyaong-ku supplies the greater part of the kingdom with lacker-ware. The articles manufactured consist of betel boxes, cups, bowls, large boxes for keeping fine clothes, and for serving viands. The fabric is very simple. The frame consists of plaited bamboo, over which is laid a paste consisting of coarse varnish mixed up with bone-ashes. When the article thus far prepared is dry, a layer of varnish mixed up with vermilion is laid upon it; this is followed by a second, third, or even fourth layer of varnish, of a finer description, according to the quality of the article to be manufactured. The figures are drawn with a rude iron style, and yet are sometimes extremely neat and tasteful: this ware is comparatively very cheap: a hundred cups, each capable of containing a pint, may be bought at Nyaong-ku for six ticals of flowered silver, or about fifteen shillings: these will last about six months. The finer descriptions of the manufacture, however, are much dearer. A more durable description of lacker-ware, but more costly, is imported in considerable quantity from Lao. These together serve the Burmans, in a good measure, in the place not only of cabinet-work, but of glass, fine porcelain, and the utensils of brass, pewter, and

tin, which are used by other nations; and in some cases it is no bad substitute. The varnish used by the manufacturers of Nyaong-ku, is imported from the countries on the Kyen-dwen river: we purchased it here at one tical a viss. Judging by the superior brilliancy of the lacker-ware of Lao, the varnish used in the fabrication of it must be of a finer quality. The coarsest varnish of all, used by the Burmans, is procured in Lower Pegu.

*Dec. 24.*—We dropped down yesterday afternoon below Pagan, anchoring close to the opposite or western bank of the river. This morning, as some delay was occasioned by necessary repairs to the machinery of the steam-vessel, we took the opportunity of landing to explore the neighbourhood. A range of hills, not exceeding two hundred feet in height, runs parallel with the river, within a few yards of the bank. We penetrated this in two different directions, each route which we took being the dry bed of a mountain torrent. In one of these there was a soft sandy bottom, very generally covered by a saline efflorescence. On each side of it there was abundance of the tamarisk, (*Tamarix Indica*,) which is so familiar to those who have visited the banks of the Ganges: Dr. Wallich saw it now for the first time, in Ava; for, generally speaking, the plant is not to be found on the banks of this river. Connected with the saline formation now mentioned, Dr. Wallich found also three plants,



which had not been met with by us before, viz. a new species of *Salsola*, different from the two known Indian ones; a new species of *Trichodesma*, with perfoliate leaves, and the *ammannia vesicatoria* of Roxburgh. The bed of the second torrent was composed of rocks, and rocky fragments, consisting of calcareous sandstone, and an iron-stone breccia. The latter contained an immense quantity of embedded fossil shells, as far as we could ascertain, on a superficial examination, differing from the fresh-water shells, which we had collected in the neighbourhood of the river on our way up. The stone in which these remains are found is very abundant, and we brought away a great quantity of specimens. On our way up to Ava, a native had given us a few specimens of fossil shells, which he said were obtained not far distant from the spot where we now found similar ones: this circumstance of course had directed our inquiry. All the specimens of rocks which we found here smelt strongly of petroleum, or earth oil; and as we proceeded up, we found the substance itself oozing out from the blue clay. Were wells dug, no doubt it would be found in the same manner as at Renangyaong. The range of hills where we observed it is composed of immense masses of blue clay, soft sandstone, or rather aggregated sand, containing occasionally round pebbles, hard calcareous sandstone, iron-stone breccia, in which alone the fossil remains were found, and

a coarse pudding-stone; the chert, or petrified wood, and the calcareous incrustations, so abundant on the opposite side of the river, were scarcely to be found here at all.

On coming on board, the steam-vessel dropped down through a narrow passage formed between the spot which we had just examined and a broad island. The channel navigable here was scarcely thirty yards in breadth, deep, rapid, and therefore dangerous. There was certainly no part of the Irawadi which we had seen of which the passage was so precarious. Between three and four in the afternoon, we passed the town of Salé, and in the evening anchored off the western bank, about midway between that place and Sembegewn, (Senpyu-gyun, White Elephant Island.)

*Dec. 25.*—On Christmas morning, about breakfast-time, we anchored for an hour or two off Sembegewn, to give us an opportunity of sending off our letters and dispatches to Bengal by the Aracanese messengers, who had brought us letters at Ava on the 3d of this month. We reckoned that, by this conveyance, accounts from us would be received at Calcutta in twenty-five days.

While we were at anchor off Sembegewn, the old Governor of Bassein came on board and informed us that he had that morning received accounts, that the Talains, or Peguans, under Maongzat, the chief of Syrian, had rebelled against the Burman authorities, and that a formidable in-



surrection had broke out immediately upon the departure of Sir A. Campbell from Rangoon, since which time several actions had been fought. In the evening we reached Renangyun, or the Petroleum brook.

*Dec. 27.*—Yesterday morning, after taking in wood, the steam-vessel dropped down, and about a mile below Renangyun took the ground. A party had landed early in the morning, and proceeded some miles down the river, in expectation of joining the vessel. We were obliged to return, and did not reach her until three in the afternoon. This excursion, and another earlier in the morning, afforded us a highly interesting view of the geology of this part of the eastern bank of the river. The country consists of a series of sand-hills, the highest of which do not exceed one hundred feet, frequently separated by narrow ravines, which, although torrents in the rainy season, were at present dry. The soil upon these hills was scanty in the extreme, and generally covered with grass, or an under-sized forest, in which the following trees are the most frequent:—Two species of *Arborescent Accacias Celtes-Mollis*; *Rhus Paniculata*, and *Bignonia Auriculata* of Wallich; *Baringtonia Acutangula*; a few sacred fig-trees, but above all a species of *Zizyphus*, the same which is so universal in the upper part of the Burman country.

The Irawadi had left bare a complete section



of the sand-hills along its banks, where they are nearly perpendicular, and generally from seventy to eighty feet high. The whole country hereabouts is evidently of alluvial formation. The hills, at first view, appear to be sandstone, but in fact are nothing more than sand of a moderate hardness, every where more or less intermixed with gravel, sometimes very large, and at others minute. Situated generally below the sand, are beds of iron-stone breccia, and stalactitic masses of calcareous sandstone, the *debris* of which is widely scattered over the bank of the river. It is here, and in the ravines between the hills, that the petrified wood, which I have so often mentioned, is to be found in such abundance; but in the first mentioned situation we found also another object of still greater interest, a quantity of fossil bones. These appeared to be those of an animal of the size of an elephant—of one about the size of an ox, and of an alligator. We obtained in all, in our two excursions, fourteen or fifteen specimens along the bank of the river, in a distance not exceeding in all a mile and a half, from which circumstance the abundance of such remains may be fairly inferred. The quantity of fossil wood which we met was quite extraordinary. It appears here and there on the surface of the hills—in great quantities on the bank of the river, but most abundantly in the ravines. In this latter situation it

forms the beds of the torrents, and consists of very large blocks, some of them four and five feet in circumference.

*Dec. 31.*—The impossibility of getting the steam-vessel off the sand-bank after many attempts, had still detained us here, and enabled us to add to our Geological and Botanical collection. On the 28th, accompanied by Dr. Stewart, I took a walk of three miles on the carriage road which leads from Renangyun to the towns of Mait'hila and Ramathan, which are near each other, and distant fifty taings, or about one hundred miles. The way was over barren sand-hills intercepted by frequent ravines, and a country quite uncultivated, indeed incapable of cultivation. We proceeded as far as a hill, a little higher than the surrounding ones, called Man-lan, which was strewn with broken fragments of a stone used by the natives for making tobacco-pipes. The rock looks as if it had been cracked or broken into small fragments by a hasty drying, so that in some places the loose stones on the surface presented the appearance of a regular pavement. This, I may say, was the only place in this neighbourhood, where we had found a perfect rock; all the other stones which had any appearance of being so, having proved on examination to be nothing more than an alluvial formation or re-composed rock. The dry grass and shrubs on the hill had been just burnt, and it appeared that



from this place had been brought to us a great part of the fossil bones which I shall presently mention. The hill of Man-lan is higher than any in its vicinity, and is probably about four hundred feet above the level of the Irawadi.

We landed yesterday forenoon, in order to afford every facility for getting the steam-vessel off the bank, and pitched temporary tents on the river-side, at a little valley about a mile below Renangyun, and at a place called Nyaong-h'la, or the "handsome fig-tree," where there is an old temple on the model of those of Pagan. Dr. Wallich and myself this morning visited the Petroleum Wells, and examined several of them. We took the temperature of two of them carefully with a good thermometer: the thermometer being immersed in a pot of oil, just drawn from one of these, which was one hundred and thirty royal cubits, or two hundred and seven English feet in depth, rose to eighty-eight degrees. In the shade the temperature at the same time was sixty-nine degrees. In a pot of oil drawn from another well of which the liquid was less mixed with the water, and which was one hundred and forty royal cubits, or two hundred and twenty-two feet eight inches deep, the heat indicated by the thermometer was ninety degrees.

In going over the ground, we observed several old wells altogether abandoned. The natives informed us that, in digging new ones, they came at



a considerable depth to coal and fossil shells. Of the latter, we unfortunately could obtain no specimens; but of the former, which proved to be brown coal, we obtained one or two good ones at the village of Renangyun. The oil drawers stated to us, that in clearing out old wells accidents sometimes happened from the fire-damp, and they pointed out a particular well at which two men had lost their lives from this cause.

*January 3, 1827.*—The steam-boat was got afloat on the forenoon of the 1st, with the assistance of three hundred Burmans, who may be said to have dragged her off the sand-bank by main force, and after lightening her by cutting off the whole of her poop, discharging all the baggage, and landing some of the heaviest parts of her machinery. The detention occasioned by all this, afforded us opportunities of examining the country in the vicinity of the Petroleum Wells, of which we availed ourselves to the fullest extent. Our search after fossil bones was successful far beyond our expectation. As soon as the natives discovered our curiosity upon the subject, specimens were brought in to us every hour, so that we at last obtained a collection amounting to several large chests. Among these we could recognize those of several ruminant animals, of tortoises, and alligators. The most numerous and remarkable, however, were the bones of an animal of the size of an elephant, which, until better in-

formed, we supposed to have belonged to the fossil elephant, or mammoth. The natives had also brought us in a large quantity of petrified shells: these, it is singular, were all of one description,—a bivalve shell about the size of a cockle.\*

Anxious to see the fossil bones and shells in their situations, Dr. Wallich and I proceeded this morning in the same direction in which I had travelled on the 28th. After proceeding as far as the hill of Man-lan, we took a northerly direction among the hills and ravines, until our Burman guides brought us to a hill about sixty or seventy feet above the level of the dry bed of a brook, which was immediately below it, and probably about one hundred and fifty above the level of the Irawadi. Not far from the top of this a few fossil shells were shown to us, and we proceeded to dig up the ground. After removing a very superficial soil, we came at once to a bed of blue moist clay, which contained an immense quantity of shells, some broken, but many entire. The greater number were filled with the blue clay of the bed in which they lay; but a few with calcareous matter, which last had been the case with all those brought

\* This passage and others, respecting these remarkable fossil remains, are allowed to stand nearly as originally written in my JOURNAL; but for an accurate and scientific account of both, I can refer with satisfaction and confidence to the APPENDIX.



to us by the natives at our residence, and which therefore were probably procured at some other spot. No vestige of fossil shells was to be seen any where in the immediate neighbourhood. On the opposite side of the brook, and not distant a hundred yards from the bed of shells, a section of one of the hills was laid bare, which consisted of indurated sand and calcareous sandstone breccia, which afforded a good opportunity for determining this spot. The deposition of shells, therefore, was evidently very partial, or at least was broken and interrupted by other formations.

After satisfying ourselves respecting the shells, we returned to the Man-lan hill, and, under the direction of our guides, took a southerly direction among the hills and ravines in this quarter, in search of fossil bones. After proceeding about a mile and a half or two miles, several specimens were shown to us; and we soon picked up ten or a dozen fragments, seemingly belonging to the same large animal which I have already mentioned. We found them between the hills, in gravelly soil, nearly on the surface, and not in the deepest ravines. We attempted to dig for others, but our search was not successful; indeed, we had neither means nor time to prosecute it with any prospect of success. The fossil wood was met with wherever we passed; but it increased in abundance as we approached



the Irawadi, and was by far the most frequent in those portions of the ravines which lead immediately into it. I may here remark, that the singular formation of barren sand-hills and ravines, which so abound with fossil wood and bones, is confined to the eastern bank of the river. The western bank, to a great extent, is a low champaign country, bearing little resemblance to the opposite one.

To elucidate the subject of the fossil bones, I shall here notice, that according to the report of the natives, or our own observations, the following are the quadrupeds at present existing in the neighbourhood; viz. a leopard, a wild cat, a species of deer the *cervus manjac*, the hare, the hog, with a mole rat. Of these, we saw ourselves the deer, hare, and rat. The elephant, the rhinoceros, the wild cow, and buffalo, with the royal tiger, which are found in different other parts of the Burman territory, exist nowhere near to the situations in which we found the fossil bones in such abundance.

*Jan. 4.*—We embarked last night, and began again this morning to prosecute our voyage, after a detention of eight days. In the evening we stopped at Magwé, on the eastern bank: about a mile above it, Dr. Wallich and I landed, and walked down to the place. The bank of the river was as high and precipitate as at Re-nan-gyaong, and apparently consisted of the same alluvial for-

mation. Fossil wood was in abundance along the bank ; but we did not observe, nor did we hear upon inquiry of any fossil bones. At Magwé we found stationed a person of considerable consequence, called the Mret-sen-wun. This officer has charge of the river police, and is vested with the power of life and death, which was attested by a spectacle seen by two of our gentlemen on the river-side, a little below Magwé—the bodies of six persons who, fifteen days before, had been executed by him for piracy. They were already torn to pieces by the numerous birds of prey that hovered about them.

*Jan. 9.*—On the morning of the 5th we left Magwé, and at noon arrived at Melun and Patnago. We landed at the latter place and visited a lake not half a mile from the river-side. When we went up, this was a considerable body of water, but now it was little better than a marsh overgrown with aquatic plants, among which was the *Nelumbo*, or Indian lotus, and a splendid *Nymphaea*, a new species. We expected to find in this season numerous wildgeese and ducks; but there were none of the former, and very few of the latter. After taking in a supply of firewood, we prosecuted our journey, and anchored for the night a few miles above Lungyi. On the 6th our navigation was very intricate and difficult, and we were obliged to take a pilot from village to village, which occasioned much detention.



Waiting for one about four or five miles below Lungyi, I landed about noon, with Dr. Wallich, on the western bank, and made a short excursion into the forest, which was low and scanty. Instead of the verdant appearance which it presented in coming up during the rains, it was now parched and withered, and had a very dreary aspect, the trees already beginning to lose their foliage. In March and April, the scene is still more unpromising. The soil was poor and gravelly, and at the place where we landed there was not the least appearance of cultivation. We observed, however, several cart-roads intersecting the forest, and villages surrounded by patches of culture were at no great distance. The rock presented itself in one situation on the river-side: it was a calcareous sandstone breccia, and in several portions of it were embedded numerous small fossil shells.

In the forest we saw no game except wild cocks and hens, which seemed to be very abundant, for we started one covey which consisted of not less than fourteen or fifteen birds. In the evening we stopped at a small village, about fifteen miles above Meaday.

On the 7th, at eleven o'clock, we passed Meaday, where above eighty merchant-boats, in consequence of the piracies and murders lately committed on the river, were glad to take advantage of our safe convoy as far as Prome. Here, on



both sides of the river, we found the rock to be calcareous sandstone. At Meaday the fossil wood was still to be seen in small quantities. We anchored for the night at Tong-taong, or "limestone hill," mentioned in our voyage up. Yesterday the navigation of the river had greatly improved; we consequently made a longer journey than usual, and by six in the evening reached Prome. At this place we received some details of the Talain insurrection, which appeared more formidable than we had expected. Maong-zat, the Peguan chief, we were informed, had attacked the Burmans twice near Rangoon, and in a good measure blockaded that place. The people of Dalla, including the Karians of that district, had joined him, and he had established a post as far up the eastern branch of the Irawadi as Panlang, thus intercepting the communication between Rangoon and the upper provinces.

Dr. Wallich and I this morning made an excursion to the hills opposite to Prome. The great fall of the river now exposed rocks, the existence of which we did not suspect in the examination we made going up: they consisted of sandstone, pudding-stone, and slate clay; in short, this seemed a continuation of the same formation which we had traced nearly all the way from Ava. In the sandstone we found abundance of fossil shells, differing entirely, as far as we could determine, from those hitherto found, and to all appearance marine

productions. Of these we made an ample collection.

The soil at Prome began already to improve, and the verdure to be more luxuriant. Neither here, nor in any other part from Melun, did we observe the teak tree, which we had seen so often in going up. It sheds its leaves in every country, and being now without foliage, could not be distinguished.

While we were absent on the opposite side of the river, our friends visited the town, and found it much restored and enlarged, affording favourable testimony to the good administration of the Myowun. This person himself was absent, having proceeded about a month before to Rangoon, with four hundred men, to assist in suppressing the insurrection of the Talains. The Akunwun, or collector of taxes, who was acting for him, paid us a visit on board the steam-vessel. There is no Rewun by custom at Prome, and the person next to the Myowun in rank, and therefore his deputy, is the collector. Our visitor was a young man of some intelligence. He was desirous to see the steam-engine, and was readily gratified. The observation he made upon it was, that "it was as wonderful as the mechanism of a bee-hive."

We left Prome between eleven and twelve o'clock. At four o'clock, after going about twenty miles, the vessel again grounded on a sand-bank, although we had a pilot on board. The naviga-



tion of the Irawadi, at this season, is precarious and uncertain to the last degree. The bed of the river every where consists of sand, and the channel seems to change every season, so that former experience and observation are of no avail. By emptying the boiler, and otherwise lightening her, the vessel was fortunately got off at seven in the evening.

*Jan. 10.*—We prosecuted our journey early this morning. At ten o'clock Dr. Wallich and I landed a little below the town of Pingyi, and visited the promontory called by the Burmans Kyaok-ta-ran, the last high land on the eastern bank of the river. This is a very romantic and pretty spot, and our visit to it was extremely satisfactory. The promontory is about eighty feet high, and the rocks rise perpendicularly from the river. About thirty feet up there are niches, or excavations, in each of which there is a stone figure of Gautama cut out of the rock, but plastered over every where, and in some places gilt. There cannot be less than fifty of these in all, of various sizes, and some of them very large: they are divided into two or three groups, separate and distinct from each other. The only rock we saw was a calcareous breccia, and there was neither loose sand nor clay, as in some other places. Fossil shells again occurred, and apparently of marine origin. The hills are covered with abundant verdure and considerable forests. Many of the plants were in flower and fruit, and



Dr. Wallich found here a greater number of new and interesting species than in any other place, excepting the range of hills north-east of Ava. The following are some of the most remarkable; viz. a large species of *Cacalia*, with deep orange-coloured blossoms; a species of *Codonopsis*, hitherto only found in Nepal; a *Ruellia*, remarkable for having its stem and branches covered with a milkwhite down; the *Porona Paniculata*, with its profuse and highly ornamental blossoms; a new species of *Eranthemum*, first found by Dr. Wallich in the range of hills north-east of Ava; a handsome *Borderie*, a stately *Arundo*, several mosses, and *Jungmannia* in flower, and several ferns, amongst which was one elegant new species.

The ship had dropped down slowly, and we joined her at two o'clock. We had now taken leave of the hilly country, the natural boundary of the Burman race, and entered into the Delta of the Irawadi, the native country of the Peguans. At four in the afternoon, we passed the large and populous village of Kiyan-k'han, on the west bank of the river, which we had not seen in going up, as we then ascended by the eastern bank. Here a very considerable number of merchant-boats were lying along the bank. This place, although governed only by a Myosugi, has the rank of a Myo, but is without walls or stockade. The district attached to it is productive in rice; and the cattle employed in husbandry are said to amount

to ten thousand buffaloes. In the evening we reached Myan-aong, or Loonzay.

*Jan. 11.*—I walked through Myan-aong this morning, which is a village of considerable extent, but without any thing remarkable to distinguish it. We found the alarm here, on account of the progress of the Talain insurrection, very considerable. The inhabitants were already collecting their grain, and preparing for flight.

*Jan. 13.*—We left Myan-aong after breakfast, on the 11th. Between Kanaong and Shwe-gain, when we had hardly gone ten miles, the difficulties of the river were found even greater than in any part of the navigation from Ava downwards. We were obliged to come to for the day, in order to sound for a passage, which was at length discovered on the morning of the 12th, when we pursued our journey. At night we anchored off the little river, which about five miles above Sarwa goes to Bassein, being the first branch which the Irawadi sends off in its progress to the sea. A petty stream at all times, it was now choked up with sand at its mouth, and impassable for the smallest canoe. In the month of June, 1825, in the height of the rains, a fleet of gun-boats, of the smallest class, came by the route of this branch to join Sir A. Campbell, then at Prome; but even in that season the voyage was attended with much difficulty. At two o'clock we passed Sarwa, and in half an hour thereafter reached



Henzada. The principal person now in charge here paid us a visit, and was very anxious to know what part the English would take in the present contest. The obvious reply was, that we should take no part with either, as to side with the Talains would be contrary to good faith and existing treaties. As to the Burmans, we added, that every Government was the proper assertor of its own rights; and that it did not belong to strangers to intermeddle. The old Wun of Bassein, ever since he communicated to us the insurrection of the Talains, had been most importunate in soliciting our interference. One word from us, he said, would induce Maong-zat to give up his enterprise, and retire with his followers into our territories. I informed him that we should not interfere in any manner whatsoever.

*Jan. 17.*—On the morning of the 14th we quitted Henzada, where we laid in a stock of fuel, sufficient to last us to Rangoon. In the evening we passed Donabew, and anchored for the night within a mile of the eastern branch of the Irawadi, leading to Rangoon. Donabew we found considerably enlarged. Both this place and the village of Nyaong-gyung, about seven or eight miles below it, we found crowded with refugees, who had fled from the Talain insurrection.

We prosecuted our journey on the morning of the 15th. Before starting we met a number of boats, who had come up the main branch of the



Irawadi from Pantano, a district of the province of Bassein. Among them were a considerable number of Chinese. It seemed that the people of Pantano had been ordered to attack the Talains at the post of Panlang. In the mean time Maong-pyu, the head of the Karians of Pegu, who is in alliance with Maong-zat, assaulted Pantano, and took it on his way to the attack of Bassein. He was reported to be at the head of three thousand followers. The old Wun of Bassein, like a genuine Burman Chief, not choosing to incur the personal risk of entering the districts in a state of insurrection, quitted us that morning. He was, however, sufficiently candid on the subject, and did not conceal his fears. Just at the commencement of the Rangoon branch there was a small post of the Burmese, the only one which they held down to Rangoon. Waiting high-water to pass it, we anchored seven miles within this branch, where there was a bar; this we effected at seven in the evening, being luckily favoured by the highest spring-tides, without which we could not have got over, for even then we had barely a fathom water; and the vessel, now much lightened, drew very nearly six feet.

At seven in the morning of the 16th we proceeded, and soon passed Samalaok, where we found a breast-work newly erected, but abandoned. The village itself, and the few others upon the bank, had been also abandoned, and

we saw no inhabitants except a few Karians, who came down to the river-side out of curiosity. At one o'clock we arrived at Panlang. We found the river here strongly stockaded in three places, and in occupation of the Talains. We came to an anchor for a moment to request a safe passage for our boats, which amounted in all to two-and-twenty, twelve of which only were our own, the rest being Burman trading-vessels, belonging to European and other foreign merchants that had sought our protection. We made a signal that we wished to communicate with the garrison, and three boats pushed off without any hesitation. Our visitors were very communicative. Their manner was full of gesticulation, and their language rather boastful: they said they were afraid only of the English; and that if we would not interfere, or, as they expressed it, "if we would but stand upright, and move neither to the right hand nor to the left hand," they would soon settle their quarrel with the Burmans, as one hundred Talains were an equal match for one thousand of the former! The chief, commanding at the post, whose name was Maong-shwe-lung, was anxious to come on board and pay us a visit of ceremony; but I evaded this proposal, which might have led to embarrassment, by becoming the subject of misrepresentation. The Talains informed us that they had been fifteen days in possession of Panlang, and in



that time had fought one petty action with the Burmans, in which one or two persons were killed. They stated that Maong-zat had taken the name and title of King,—that he had created two or three *great officers*, and that Maong-pyo, the chief of the Karians, who was marching upon Bassein, was to have the government of that place as the reward of his services. They readily promised a safe passage for our boats, and seemed indeed but too happy to have an opportunity of obliging us in any thing within their power. The river at Panlang is scarcely sixty yards in breadth, and this post, which commands every access to Rangoon, had been very judiciously selected. If resolutely defended, it might long have intercepted all relief from Ava to the latter place. We anchored at night at a place seven miles above Rangoon. In this day's journey we saw alligators for the first time, and in great numbers, basking in the sun, on the muddy shores at low water: some of them were of great size, and the species seemed to us to be different from either of the two found in the Ganges.

As soon as the ebb-tide had made, and the thick fog, which now prevailed every morning, would allow us to see our way, we prosecuted our journey this morning, and at ten o'clock anchored before Rangoon. In coming down, we found the village of Kemmendine totally destroyed. A much more extensive desolation presented

itself in the vicinity of the town: the large suburb lying between the stockade and the river, and the still larger one of Tacklay, were in ruins; such of the inhabitants as had not fled to our settlements, or taken refuge in the forests, and great numbers had done so, were cooped up within the stockade. The town seemed to be completely beleaguered by the Talains, who were in full occupation of Dalla: the Pegu flag was flying on one side of the river, and the Burman on the other. The only post out of the stockade which the Burmans still retained was the Great Pagoda, where the Sad'hauwun, or master of the household, the person whom our soldiers called "the cook," commanded.

Lieutenant Rawlinson, who was left here by Sir A. Campbell to await our arrival, and all the English merchants, were standing on the public wharf, looking out for us, and immediately came on board, bringing along with them our letters and packets. They informed us that this day had been decided on by the Burmans, as a fortunate one, for making a *sortie*; and indeed they had scarcely given us the information, when the attack actually commenced. We were eye-witnesses to a considerable part of this action, and our friends, who returned to the stockade, and mounted the tops of the houses, had a full view of the whole. The courage and conduct of both parties were upon the very lowest scale. The Burmans crept out of the



stockade, and came unawares upon their enemy, on the eastern or Tacklay side of the stockade. The Talains, who were cooking or sleeping, fled precipitately, and without offering any resistance, to their boats, which were soon seen crossing the river in numbers and in great haste, although not pursued. A few Talains were killed, and a few taken prisoners. The Burman attack in the direction of the Pagoda was not so fortunate: here they were repulsed, and sustained some loss. The total killed, wounded, and prisoners, was, after all, very trifling on either side. We received various and different accounts of the casualties; but so discordant, that none could be relied on. The Burmans admitted their own loss in wounded to be fourteen. We had the misfortune to be eye-witnesses to the capture of one petty Talain chief, and an act of more savage ferocity cannot well be imagined. He had attempted to escape by swimming across the river, and was pursued by two armed Burmans in a small canoe. He attempted to avoid capture by repeated diving, but was at last wounded by a spear and taken. He was tied to the canoe, and dragged down the river for a quarter of a mile, to the spot where we were anchored, and within five yards of us. He was landed by dragging him by the hair of the head, and one of the victors drew a sword, as if to decapitate him. We remonstrated against this act of brutality, as an insult to ourselves, and thus

for the moment at least saved the life of the prisoner. Thirty ticals, it appears, are paid for every Talain's head. The prisoners are generally taken before the Wungyi, where some are executed and others reprieved. Some of our gentlemen who entered the town after the action had ceased, saw the prisoners brought in. The men were dragged by the hair of the head, and the women and children were scarcely better treated. Among the prisoners there were some Chinese, who were sold by the captors on the spot to the highest bidder. These had not joined the Talains, nor were they taken in arms: they had not, however, quitted the suburbs, where their dwellings were, when the Burmans retired to the stockade, and this, which was considered suspicious, was an offence which merited punishment.

*Jan. 19.*—The day we arrived I had a message from the Wungyi, saying he would be glad to receive a visit from me; but it was delivered in such a manner, and through such a channel, that I declined paying any attention to it. Yesterday morning the Akunwun, or collector of customs, waited upon us and apologized on the part of the Wungyi for not having given us a ceremonious reception on the day of our arrival, on the plea of his being busily engaged in the arrangement of the *sortie* which took place. He requested that we would pay him a visit that day or the following. I answered, that I did not think a visit necessary,



as I had no public business to discuss with him, being now a mere passenger to Bengal, invested with no public authority. If the Wungyi had any public business on his side, I said, I should be glad to receive him on board the steam-vessel. The Akunwun said that this was impossible, as it was contrary to etiquette for a man of the Wungyi's rank to come without the walls of the fort and expose his person when the place was besieged. I replied, that I had quite made up my mind not to visit the Wungyi in his own house; but as he was anxious for an interview, I would meet him, if he desired it, at any place in the town, not being a government building, and I proposed the house which I had myself formerly occupied when commissioner. This was agreed to, and the meeting took place to-day at eleven o'clock.

The Akunwun had intimated to us that none of the European soldiers or Sepoys of our escort should be permitted to enter the town during our stay, as it was in a state of siege. In reply to this, I answered, that this exclusion had an unfriendly appearance, and that I would not go into the town without such an escort as the Burman chiefs were accustomed to when Rangoon was occupied by us. This arrangement was assented to with some difficulty, and we entered the town, preceded by twelve men of the European escort. The ladder, which had been taken away from the wharf on the first alarm of the Talain insurrection, was re-

placed for our convenience ; we should otherwise have had to ascend a height of five-and-twenty or thirty feet by a single rope, as other persons did, for it was low-water. The Wungyi kept us waiting at the place appointed for half an hour, and then made his appearance in a very plain dress. The Ex-Myowun of Yé, and the Akunwun, had met us on the wharf, and sat along with us until the arrival of their superior. We had a very civil meeting with the Wungyi. Notes of the conversation which took place were taken as usual, and the following is a sketch of it :—

*B.* You saw the battle the day you arrived, and how matters are. I stated my apprehensions to you at Henzada, and told you how mischievous a person Maong-zat was.—*E.* I remember your warning me against the Talains generally, and denouncing them as a disloyal and treacherous people ; but I have no recollection of your ever having at all introduced the name of Maong-zat.

*B.* Perhaps I may not have mentioned the name of Maong-zat.—*E.* I take this opportunity of mentioning, that the Wundauk and Rewun stated to me at Rangoon their apprehensions of Maong-zat, and made what I conceived at the time a very unreasonable request, viz. that the British Government should seize that person, his friends and followers, who, at the time, had committed no offence either against the British or Burman Government, and deliver them over to



the Burman authorities for punishment. A compliance with this would have been dishonourable to us, and was of course refused; but I offered, on behalf of the British Commissioners, to induce Maong-zat and his followers to retire into the British provinces, in order to remove all cause of apprehension on the part of the Burman Government. This was declined: nothing less would satisfy them than the delivering over into their hands Maong-zat and his people. The Wun of Yé, who is now before me, was present when the conversation took place, and no doubt will recollect all about it."

This officer, upon being referred to, stated that he recollected the circumstances perfectly.

*E.* Have you received a copy of the Treaty of Commerce lately concluded at Ava?—*B.* Yes, I have received a copy of it. How long do you propose staying here?

*E.* I hope to be able to go away in two or three days at the farthest.

The Wungyi here offered to deliver over a letter to my charge, without mentioning what it was or offering any explanation.

*E.* Before I receive this letter, I must know from whom it comes, and to whom it is addressed; and I must be satisfied that its contents are suitable.—*B.* It merely contains an account of your arrival at Ava, your presentation, &c.

*E.* As soon as I am favoured with a copy, and

have procured a translation, I shall be able to say whether I can receive it, or otherwise.—*B.* The letter is all right, and contains nothing improper. Why will you not receive it?

*E.* I shall be able to judge of all this when I see it. Of the suitableness of what I take upon myself the responsibility of delivering to my superiors I am the proper judge, and not the officers of the Burmese Government. You state that the letter is from the Wungyis at Ava. I was not the bearer of a letter to those officers; I was the bearer of a letter to the King. If this letter be an answer to that which I took to his Majesty, I will not receive it. The Wungyis must not address the Governor-General, who is their superior, unless in the form of a petition. If the letter be in this last shape, and have no reference to the letter which I brought for the King, I will take charge of it.—*B.* The letter is not from the Wungyis to the Governor-General, but from the former to “the War Chiefs” in Bengal.

Copy of the letter was here made, read, and delivered.

*E.*—The contents of this letter have been explained to me, and they appear to be suitable. I conceive it to be addressed from the Wungyis at Ava to officers of similar rank in Calcutta, and with this understanding I now take charge of it.”

The Wungyi here produced two ruby rings,



the largest of which he requested might be given to the Governor-General in his name, and of the smallest he requested my acceptance.

After a good deal of conversation on indifferent topics, the English and Burman officers rose together and retired. In going through and coming from the town, we were treated with perfect civility by every one we met.

The following is a translation of the letter now alluded to :—“ According to the Royal order of the Most Glorious Sovereign of Land and Sea, Lord of the Celestial Elephant, Proprietor of White Elephants, Master of the Chakra Weapon, Sovereign Controller of Existence, King of Righteousness, we, the Wungyis, War Chiefs, who manage the affairs of the country, make this communication to the English War Chiefs.

“ Agreeably to the great friendship subsisting between the English country, and the Royal kingdom of the Burman monarch, the English Ruler sent the Envoy Crawford with presents to his Majesty, and he came to the Royal presence (under the Golden Foot). That his journey may be pleasant, we went out to meet and conduct him, and the presents which he brought were carried to the Golden Palace and presented to ‘the two Sovereigns.’ Houses, tents, and sheds were constructed, and appropriated for the accommodation of the Envoy Crawford and his

suite, and a sufficient supply of provisions was furnished.

“ On petitioning the Throne concerning the trade of the two countries, his Majesty has given permission, calculated to promote prosperity. On petitioning the Throne concerning the Envoy's returning, the two Sovereigns graciously granted the following presents for the English Ruler :—two ruby rings ; two sapphire rings ; five silk cloths of a certain description ; two fur jackets ; two Chinese hats ; two gilt umbrellas ; two round boxes, set with glass ; two high cover boxes, set with glass ; two ditto, gilt ; two shan round boxes, large ; two ditto, middle size ; two ditto, small ; two shan high cover boxes, large ; two shan cups, large ; two ditto, middle size ; ten ditto, small ; one block of Sagaing marble ; one mass of crystal, weighing ten viss ; ten elephants' tusks, weighing fifty viss ; two horses, and some sacred books. All these were safely delivered to the Envoy Crawford ; boatmen and provisions furnished ; and officers of Government were made to conduct the Envoy on his return to Hant-ha-wati.

“ As the two great countries are now great friends, keep in mind the importance of maintaining the grand alliance.”

*Jan. 23.*—From our arrival until to-day we were busy in making arrangements for sending



the escort, our followers, and baggage to the new settlement of Amherst, on the river of Martaban. For this purpose I was obliged to take up the *Bombay Merchant*, an English ship of above 500 tons burthen. We were in readiness to-day, and left Rangoon about half-past eleven o'clock.

I had recommended to Lieutenant Rawlinson to continue at his post until he heard farther from Sir Archibald Campbell; being convinced, from what I had seen and heard, that such a step was necessary for the protection of the persons of the British merchants at Rangoon, and the large property in their warehouses. I had explained this to the Wungyi in the interview which I had with him. He seemed, however, not to be satisfied with what I then stated; and just as we were weighing, a message came from him to ask what object we had in view by leaving Lieutenant Rawlinson at Rangoon. I stated shortly, that such a measure was considered necessary in the present state of the country, and that by treaty we had a right to maintain an agent in the kingdom.

From the time of our arrival to our departure, a period of six days, no action was fought between the hostile parties; and but for the occasional report of a gun or musquet, and the desolate appearance of the neighbourhood of Rangoon, it might be supposed that the country was in a state of perfect peace. Last evening, however, we saw a great number of Talain boats moving up the right

bank of the river, and heard that the Talain chief Maong-zat, in person, had arrived at Dalla with a considerable force, and meditated an attack upon Rangoon. The Burmans immediately began to make preparation against it, and by two o'clock the remaining houses in the suburbs were set on fire, with a view of clearing the glacis in front of the stockade. The meditated attack, however, did not take place. The Burman garrison, it appears, amounted to about 4000 men, 2500 of whom were called *regular troops*. The provisions in the stockade were equal only to a month's consumption, and the garrison seemed completely cut off from farther supply, unless by sea; so that, unless the place were relieved by a Burman army forcing the stockade at Panlang, it would be compelled to surrender.

The Wungyi Maong-kaing was reputed to be, for a Burman, a man of humanity; yet, notwithstanding, he had committed his full share of cruelty since the commencement of the insurrection. In the first action which was fought, three Talains were killed, and one prisoner made: the heads of the first were struck off, and, to make the number even, that of the prisoner also; these heads were carried in triumph through the town. The Burman warriors displayed their courage by running up to them and wounding them with their spears. This happened in the view of the English gentlemen residing in the place, from



whom I had the account. Shortly after the commencement of the insurrection, some Talains were seized in the town, under suspicion of attempting to set fire to it. They and their families, including women and children, were buried alive, by being thrown into a well and covered over with earth. The person to whom the immediate execution of this atrocity was consigned, was the Sad'hauwun, or steward of the household.

In passing down the river we met a small vessel from Chittagong, with a crew of Aracanese and a cargo of areca-nut. She had a pass in the Persian language, from the English collector of customs, which, for all the Burmans or Talains could understand of its contents, might as well have been in Hebrew. The Aracanese stated that they had been stopped by the Talains, who endeavoured to dissuade them from proceeding to Rangoon, telling them that the Burmans would cut their heads off, and recommended to them to go to the British settlements at Martaban. We furnished them at their request with a pass in the Burman language. It was for native vessels alone that such passes were required, for British vessels of every size were permitted to pass up and down the river without the least molestation.

When we came opposite to a large creek leading to Bassein, we found a fleet of Talain boats within it. Indeed, the insurgents were in complete possession of all the river below Rangoon,

on both banks. Shortly after, we met a boat full of Chinese with their families in distress, endeavouring to escape from both the belligerent parties: they begged to be taken on board and conveyed to our settlements, and their request was complied with.

The following account of Rangoon was collected by me while I resided there in civil charge of Pegu, a period of more than six months. This place is situated about twenty-six miles from the sea, on the eastern branch of the Irawadi, five miles below the junction of the Lain and Panlang rivers, and about two miles above the Syrian river. It lies on the left bank, and on a reach which runs nearly due east and west. The town and suburbs extend about a mile along the bank of the river, and are in depth about three-quarters of a mile; but the houses are very unequally scattered over this area. The fort, or stockade, is an irregular square; the north and south faces of which were found to measure 1145 yards; the east, 598; and the west, 197. On the north face there are two gates and a sallyport; on the south, three gates and three sally-ports; on the east, two gates; and on the west, one gate and one sallyport. The stockade is fourteen feet high, and is composed of heavy beams of teak timber. It has in some places a stage to fire musquetry from, in the parapet over which are a kind of embrasures, or loop-holes. On the south side there is a miser-



able ditch, and in one situation a deep swamp, both overgrown with *Arums*, *Pontiderias*, the *Pitsia stratiota*, and other aquatic plants. Over the ditch there is a causeway, and over the marsh a long wooden bridge, connecting one of the gates with a large temple and monastery.

Rangoon and its suburbs are divided into eight wards, called, in the Burman language, *Yat*, superintended by an officer called the *Yat-gaong*, whose business it is to maintain watch and ward within his division. The palisaded fort, or stockade, which is properly what the Burmans denominate a town or *myo*, is composed of three wide and clean streets running east and west, and three smaller ones crossing them and fronting the gates of the south face. The most populous part of the town is the suburb called *Taklay* (*Tatklé*), immediately on the west face of the stockade.

In August 1826, I directed a census of the houses and population to be made, and found the former to amount to 1570, and the latter to 8666, excluding all strangers. This gives between five and six inhabitants to each house. During the administration of the last Burman viceroy, in a census which was made, the houses amounted to 3250, which would give a population of near 18,000 inhabitants. On this occasion, however, I am told, that the number of houses was swelled by including in the list all the villages and hamlets of the neighbourhood.

Almost all the houses of Rangoon are composed of the cheapest and frailest materials, and are peculiarly liable to destruction by fire. In March 1826, I saw the whole suburb of Taklay burned to the ground in a few hours, from the accident of a pot of oil boiling over. In less than a month it was not only reconstructed, but, from the circumstance of many of the inhabitants having returned after the peace, the houses were far more numerous than before the accident.

Rangoon is written, in the Burman language, Rankong, and pronounced Yangong, which is a compound epithet meaning "peace effected." This name was given to it by Alompra, who made it the capital of Pegu and the principal sea-port of his dominions, after the destruction of Pegu and Syrian in 1755. Before that time, it was a petty village, and was called Dagong, after the great Pagoda, or Shwe Dagong (Golden Dagong). Inconsiderable as its population is, it is at present the second city in the Burman dominions.

The environs of Rangoon are sterile, uncultivated, and not very interesting; although the situation, under institutions more favourable to industry, possesses capabilities of great improvement. The ground from the river face continues to rise gradually for two miles, until reaching the great Dagong Pagoda, where it appears to be seventy or eighty feet above the level of the Iravadi. In the vicinity of this temple, the ground



is broken into ravines : amongst these are several marshes and a small lake, or rather extensive tank, formed by throwing a bank across the gorge of a wide ravine. The view from the temple is extensive and picturesque, comprehending many reaches of the river.

The elevation of site possessed by Rangoon secures itself and its environs from the inconvenience of being inundated by the periodical rains, as is the case with the low lands nearly throughout the whole Delta of the Irawadi. The climate, upon the whole, is temperate and agreeable for a tropical one, and it is certainly salubrious ; for the mortality amongst our troops unquestionably arose not from climate, but want of shelter, of wholesome food, and of ordinary comforts.

In the vicinity of Rangoon there are scarcely any works of utility, and none of embellishment, save those dedicated to religion ; viz. the Sidis, or monuments in honour of Buddha, and the Ky-aongs, or monasteries. The only useful works are two narrow roads leading from the southern face of the stockade to the great temple : these, which are paved with brick, were constructed within the last twelve years chiefly by a Mohammedan merchant of Rangoon, who had embraced the religion of Gautama. From the town to the great Pagoda, the country is covered with innumerable monuments of various sizes,—some long in a state of dilapidation ; and others entire,—before the Bri-

tish invasion. These are all of the same form, a form which has been aptly compared to a speaking trumpet standing on its base. The lower part of a temple, or Sidi, is commonly a polygon; and the shaft, or upper portion, is round,—the apex being ornamented with an iron net, in form of an umbrella, called, as I have more than once stated before, a “Ti.” The building is of solid brick and mortar, with the exception of the small chambers, in which are deposited the relics of Gautama, most commonly consisting of little images of this personage, of gold or silver, deposited by the founders.

The great temple, or Shwe Dagong, is of the same structure with the rest, but richly gilt all over. The height of this, which is really a noble object, is said to be one hundred and seventy-five cubits, or about two hundred and seventy-eight feet. In the enclosure which surrounds it is an immense bell of very rude fabric: the inscription upon it imports that it was cast by the late King forty-one years before our visit.

The Shwe Dagong Pagoda has long enjoyed a higher reputation than any other religious edifice in the Burman dominions: this it owes to the legend which supposes it to contain “eight true hairs of Gautama,” brought as a trophy from Western India, many centuries ago, by two merchant brothers. The Pagoda is in fact, what is not common with religious edifices in Ava, a



place of pilgrimage ; and is frequented by many strangers, especially Shans, during the vernal festival in the month of March, when a great fair is held near it : it is also the only temple frequented as a common place of worship by the inhabitants of Rangoon and its vicinity ; the others being resorted to only by their own founders, or their relatives and descendants.

During our occupation of Rangoon, there were two considerable markets in the place, which, after the restoration of peace, were abundantly supplied with fine fish, poultry, and very tolerable venison, besides an abundant supply of the necessaries of life, according to the Burman scale of estimating them.

Rangoon is the chief, and indeed almost the only port of foreign trade in the Burman dominions. Its situation is extremely convenient for this purpose : its distance from the sea, as already mentioned, is but twenty-six miles ; and although the navigation be somewhat intricate, the difficulties are not so great as not to be readily conquered with the assistance of tolerable pilots. Of the vast number of ships which frequented it during its occupation by the British, a period of more than two years and a half, one only, I believe, suffered shipwreck. These were of every size, up to twelve hundred tons burthen. With the exception of that of Bassein, it is the only navigable branch of the Irawadi. Over this last-mentioned

place, which is in other respects a more accessible, safe, and convenient port, it has the advantage of an uninterrupted communication at all seasons with the upper provinces—a circumstance which has naturally diverted to it nearly the whole foreign trade of the kingdom.

The site of Rangoon has many advantages for ship-building. At neaps, there is a rise and fall of the tide of about eighteen feet; and at springs, of twenty-five to thirty. The distance of the principal teak forests is at the same time comparatively inconsiderable, and there is a water conveyance for the timber nearly the whole way. Ship-building has in fact been conducted at Rangoon ever since the year 1786, and in the thirty-eight years which preceded our capture of it, there had been built one hundred and eleven square-rigged vessels of European construction, the total burthens of which amounted to above 35,000 tons. Several of these were of from 800 to 1000 tons burthen. Under the direction of European masters, the Burmese were found to make dexterous and laborious artisans; in this respect, greatly surpassing the natives of our Indian provinces. Of the commerce conducted at Rangoon, I shall take occasion to render an account in another place.





A modern Burmese Temple at Sagaing.

### CHAPTER III.

Departure from the mouth of the Rangoon river for Martaban.—  
New Settlement.—Military Cantonment.—Voyage up the  
Ataran river in the steam-vessel—and account of the country  
on its banks.—Island of Balú.—Account of a former journey  
up the Martaban river, and of the formation of the Settlement  
of Amherst.—Departure from Martaban, and arrival at Cal-  
cutta.—General Reflections respecting our Political Relations  
with the Burmese.

*Jan. 24.*—YESTERDAY evening we passed the  
mouth of the Rangoon river, and by sunset were  
clear of its sands and shoals. Through night, fa-  
voured by the smooth sea and calm weather which

almost uniformly prevail upon this coast from November to April, we stood across for the mouth of the Martaban river. Going at a very moderate rate, we entered the new harbour of Amherst at half-past eleven o'clock this forenoon, or exactly in twenty-four hours from our quitting Rangoon: the distance is about one hundred miles. Here we found lying the Government Surveying-ship Investigator, with Captain Ross the Surveyor-general, and the cruizer Ternate. We landed in the evening, and found the place greatly altered from what it had been when established as a British settlement in the beginning of the preceding April. There was then not a house or an inhabitant; and the houses, or rather huts, now amounted to two hundred and thirty, with a population of not less than twelve hundred inhabitants.

*Jan. 25.*—Immediately upon our reaching the place yesterday, I sent Lieutenant Montmorency up to Sir A. Campbell, to inform him of our arrival; giving him, in charge, for the General's perusal, a copy of my dispatch to Government and of my Journal. We ascended ourselves, this morning, in the steam-vessel to Maulamyaing, in order that I might have an opportunity of communicating personally with Sir A. Campbell on the subject of the Mission. With the advantage of the flood-tide we reached it in three hours and a half, although detained nearly half an hour by getting on a sand-bank. The distance from Am-



herst to Maulamyaing is twenty-seven miles. We found that the new cantonment had already made great progress, and that necessities and even some comforts were already commanded.

*Jan. 27.*—We made a long excursion yesterday into the forests, near Maulamyaing, which was rewarded by a large collection of new and magnificent plants. A range of low hills, or rather of high land, skirts the left bank of the Saluen in this quarter, which is covered with a forest of moderate size, without much underwood. The soil is here thin and gravelly. The rock is quartz, and it is in this range that an ore of antimony is found in such vast abundance. Behind this again are extensive and fertile grassy plains, without wood, which in better times had been cultivated with rice.

We resolved to make the best use of the time which was likely to elapse before we should find an opportunity of proceeding to Bengal, in visiting and exploring as much as was accessible to us of our new acquisitions in this quarter. Accordingly, accompanied by Major Fenwick, Civil Superintendent of the district, and Lieutenant Scotland, who had just returned from a visit to the source of the Ataran, we commenced our expedition this morning by ascending that river, one of the four fine streams which water the province.

The Saluen, the Gain, and the Ataran, join at the town of Martaban, and then proceed by two branches to the sea, these being divided from

each other by the large island of Balú. The confluence of the rivers before this bifurcation forms a sheet of water, interspersed with many green islets, five or six miles in breadth, and having all the appearance of a picturesque and beautiful lake. The view of this landscape, one of the finest pieces of scenery in India or in any other country, is seen to most advantage from the high hills immediately over the town of Martaban.

The Ataran is the smallest, but the deepest, of the three principal rivers; and instead of coming from the north, like the Saluen and Gain, its course is from south-east to north-west. We began to ascend it at half-past two o'clock; and after running, by estimate, about twenty-seven miles, stopped for the night at a range of hills called Ni-daong.

*Jan. 28.*—The river passes through the Ni-daong hills: the principal part of the range, which is small, being on the right bank of the river, which, in fact, washes its base. This is one of many ranges of blue mountain limestone, interspersed through the plains of Martaban. The range rises to the height of not less than three hundred feet abruptly from the plain; its sides being often quite perpendicular, and wooded wherever there is the least hold for the soil to settle. We landed last night, but too late for investigation. Our visit was renewed, however, this morning; and, in a botanical point of view, our excursion



was most successful. At eight o'clock in the morning, on coming on board, we prosecuted our journey.

In the course of the forenoon we passed another of the limestone ranges, called Pa-baong, still more singular in appearance than the last; but we delayed our visit to it until our return. At two o'clock we arrived before the village of Ataran, or at least what had once been so. This is the place which gives name to the river. Near its site, and about a mile and a half from the right bank of the river, are some remarkable hot springs, which we visited by passing along a path through thick and tall grass. We examined two of the springs: the largest was a pool about twenty-five yards in diameter, and covered over with a light calcareous incrustation tinged with iron: the water was perfectly limpid, and not very sensibly saline. The spring seemed to be in the middle of the pool, where the water was seen bubbling up: there was no reaching this, where no doubt the heat was greatest. A thermometer immersed at the edge of the pool stood at  $133^{\circ}$ ; and in the brook which led from it, at the distance of fifteen or twenty yards, it was scarcely lower. The margin of the pool is formed of a hard calcareous incrustation,—the same substance, in an indurated state, which is seen floating on the water. One of the limestone ranges, which I have already described, is not above two miles distant from the hot springs. The neigh-

bourhood of Ataran is praised by the Peguans for its fertility ; and from appearance it may be judged that the land is well suited for the growth of rice. We observed no marks of former industry, with the exception of some groves of well-grown coconut trees, which were in fruit. In returning to the vessel, we crossed the brook which leads from the hot springs, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile from them. The water was quite clear,—nearly of the temperature of the atmosphere, and full of small fish. We stopped for the night about eight miles above Ataran.

*Jan. 29.*—We ascended as far as it was safe to take the vessel, being in all a distance of about sixty miles from the mouth of the river. The stream, which below was from one hundred to one hundred and fifty yards broad, with low banks, contracted above Ataran to the breadth of fifty yards, with banks fifteen and twenty feet high. In the lower part of the river, no bottom was often to be found with a line of nine fathoms, and up to Ataran there was never less than three fathoms. After this the river shoals, and at high-water spring-tides we had in some places but a fathom, or barely more than the steam-vessel's draft. The spring-tides reach apparently about seventy miles from the mouth of the river, or nearly one hundred from the sea. For fifty miles up, the navigation of the Ataran, though the river be narrow, is remarkably safe and easy. The banks are



so steep that a vessel may range from side to side, touching, as we did, the boughs of the trees alternately on both sides. There is not a single rock or danger of any kind in all this distance.

In the forenoon we ascended five or six miles in our boats, but found the river very shallow. Our chief object was to reach the teak forests; but this we found impracticable, without a detention which our time would not afford. Mr. Scotland, who had proceeded as far as the Siamese frontier at the "Three Pagodas," described the nearest forest as being fifteen miles farther up the river than we went, and from two to three miles distant from the banks of the river. He had passed through two of these forests. The first, and smallest, was in breadth about three miles and a half, and about one-half the trees consisted of teak. The largest forest is about five miles in breadth, and almost entirely composed of teak: this also contained the largest trees. In both, the timber very generally ran up to the height of from forty to sixty feet; and the average circumference of the trees, at the base, was from ten to fourteen feet. Some were found measuring from nineteen to twenty-three feet. The forests were on each side of the river, and the timber could be transported to it, by means of buffaloes, with comparatively very little labour.

The banks of the Ataran abound with the elephant, the rhinoceros, wild hog, and deer, but the

elephant especially. We landed nowhere without finding the fresh tracks of these last, which appeared to be in vast numbers. In Mr. Scotland's visit to the Three Pagodas, performed by land, he saw not less than a hundred. The Karians, who accompanied him, shot one elephant, a rhinoceros, and several hogs : the elephant, which was a large female, was killed with a single musket-ball, which hit her in the forehead, passing directly into the brain. The flesh of all these animals is eaten indiscriminately by all the races inhabiting this country. Two species of monkey were seen by ourselves in great numbers, especially on the limestone ranges, over the abrupt and frightful sides of which they were seen clambering with apparent ease and unconcern.

The birds which we saw were numerous peafowl ; the common fowl in a wild state, and numerous flocks of a large green pigeon. Among the productions of this country, honey and bees' wax are very considerable ones. By the report of the natives, there are five species of bee producing honey and wax, some of which are without stings. Our people brought on board several honeycombs ; and on splitting up the trunk of a tree for fuel, we found a fissure in the middle of it, extending nearly throughout, and containing honey and wax. The bee, in this case, was without a sting, and not one-half the size of a common fly.

*Jan. 30.*—We dropped down a short way last



night, on our return to Maulamyaing, and this morning prosecuted our journey. When opposite to a place called Samí, and a little below an island in the middle of the river, we observed a few teak trees, some of which were measured, and found to be from five to seven feet in circumference. These probably form the outskirts of forests of the same timber in the interior.

*Jan. 31.*—About four o'clock yesterday afternoon we reached the rocks of Pa-baong. These run parallel with the right bank of the river, and are washed by the tide. The range is a good deal higher than any of the others, and I should think in some places not less than four hundred feet high. One peak of about this elevation, separated from the general mass, rises from the ground in the form of a sharp pyramid; on the top of it is a little pagoda, the labour, difficulty, and danger of constructing which may be easily imagined. About the centre of the range is a vaulted cavern piercing through and through the rock, which gives passage to a small branch of the river, navigable for boats for a tide, or about fifteen miles up. We went through this passage in our boats, and were much struck with the grandeur and magnificence of the prospect. The roof of the cavern was covered with stupendous stalactites.

Between two and three o'clock to-day, we returned to the military station. The following

general sketch may be offered of the Ataran:—Twenty miles above its *debouchement*, its banks are low, and covered with a narrow belt of *rhizophoras*, or mangroves. In the interior, on both sides, there are extensive grassy plains, without wood, apparently well fitted for the culture of rice. Farther up the river than the distance now mentioned, the banks rise considerably, the mangroves disappear, and the place is occupied by a narrow belt of arborescent willows: this is a new species of *Salix*. This tract is probably the most fertile: it abounds in plains, interrupted only here and there by the range of primitive limestone, which I have already mentioned. About fifty miles above the mouth of the river, the banks become very elevated. Another new species of willow now appears, and the teak begins to make its appearance. The soil here appeared to me to be a deep rich clay, and I should presume that it is well suited to the growth of the sugar-cane, cotton plant, indigo, and tobacco. Upon the whole, I am disposed to think that the country upon the banks of this river will be found fertile, and well suited to the growth of many articles of colonial produce. In the meanwhile, this tract, apparently so fine, is nearly destitute of inhabitants. We saw but four petty villages, all established within the last few months by emigrants from the Burmese territory. This place, in fact, was the chief seat of the great



emigration of Talains, alleged to have amounted to forty thousand people, which took place into the Siamese territory about fourteen years ago. Since that time, until the cession of the country to us, it had been a complete desert. European and Chinese settlers receiving grants, or perpetual leases of these wastes, would, with them any advantages—of timber, of a convenient navigation, and of accessible markets, soon bring them into a state of fruitful culture.

*February 2.*—It was our intention to have gone at once up the Saluen and Gain rivers, but we found it necessary to revisit Amherst, for the purpose of making arrangements for our voyage to Bengal. We accordingly left Maulamyaing yesterday evening, anchored half-way down, close to the island of Balú, for the night, and this morning reached Amherst. While the vessel lay at anchor last evening, we visited the village Karat-sit on Balú, proceeding, for this purpose, up a narrow creek to the distance of about three miles. The place contains about sixty houses, and had much appearance of native comfort. It is one of twelve large villages in the island, besides hamlets. Balú, which lies in the mouth of the Saluen river, dividing its *embouchure* into two branches, is about twenty English miles in length, and about half that extent in average breadth. A chain of low hills runs through its length, not exceeding anywhere two hundred feet in height. I am told they

are chiefly composed of clay-slate, but that limestone is also found. This island, among the Burmans, is celebrated for its fertility; and at present, small as its population is (about nine thousand inhabitants), it is the most populous part of Martaban. Its principal, and indeed almost only produce, is rice; which is so cheap, that it has been commonly sold at the rate of half a rupee for a basket of fifty-six pounds weight, which is about two shillings sterling. Small European vessels have taken in cargoes at this rate, and even lower. In sailing along the coast of the island, nothing is to be seen but a low mangrove jungle, and a stranger would suppose that the whole island was in fact covered with forest. This mangrove, however, is but a narrow belt; and shortly after we had entered the creek last night, extensive plains presented themselves, extending to the range of hills: these had recently been cultivated with rice. All the large villages on Balú are situated on creeks, penetrating several miles into the island. These afford a most convenient communication with the coast, and contribute materially to the cheapness with which its staple product is exported.

Our return to Bengal having hindered our excursion to the Saluen and Gain rivers, as well as prevented us from visiting other parts of the province, I shall endeavour in some measure to supply the deficiency, by the insertion of the



journal of a voyage to Martaban, which I performed about ten months before the time of which I am now writing. It is as follows :—

“My party consisted of Captain Studdert, the senior officer of his Majesty’s navy at Rangoon ; Captain Hammond, of the Madras Quartermaster-general’s department ; the Rev. Mr. Judson, of the American Mission in Ava, and Mr. King, R. N. On the 31st of March, at half-past one o’clock in the afternoon, we left Rangoon in the steam-vessel *Diana*, and at ten in the forenoon of the following day reached the mouth of the Martaban river, distant from that of Rangoon about seventy miles. Its entrance is not less than seven miles broad. The mouth of this river, and indeed its whole course to the town of Martaban, is a somewhat difficult, and, in some seasons, a dangerous navigation : until our visit, the existence of a tolerable harbour had not been suspected. The position of the cape of Kyaikami, the first high bold land to the south, after quitting the Delta of the Irawadi, as laid down in the chart of Mr. Abbot, led us to imagine it possible that shelter might be found behind it in the south-west monsoon ; but we had proceeded in our course a considerable way up the river, and had a good view of the land behind us, before appearances rendered it probable that a harbour actually existed. We fortunately determined to return, and, making for the land, anchored in quarter-less three

fathoms, within fifty yards of the shore, in a clayey bottom. It was low-water neap-tide, and the surrounding rocks and sand-banks were exposed to view: the first formed a reef of about two miles and a half in extent, running out in a north-westerly direction from the cape; and both, along with the cape itself, which sheltered us from the south-west wind, nearly landlocked us—forming, to all appearance, a good harbour. About a mile and a half to leeward of us, in reference to the south-west monsoon, was the wide mouth of a river hitherto unexplored.

“After dinner our party landed, and began, with avidity, to explore the little peninsula, of which Cape Kyaikami forms the extremity. For three-quarters of a mile from the cape inland, on the north-eastern side, the land was elevated from ten to twenty feet above high-water mark spring-tides; and on the south-western side, the whole country was of similar elevation to the distance of apparently three or four miles, when there commenced a range of hills, between three and four hundred feet in height. We found the country covered every where with a tall forest, intermixed with so little underwood, that we walked into it without difficulty for several hundred yards. Thus far the spot promised many advantages for the site of a commercial town and military cantonment.

“Early on the morning of the 2d, our party landed again, and explored the little tract of



country before us more completely. It was uninhabited, but the traces of former occupation were discernible. The ruins of four small pagodas were found close to the beach : several wells were seen not far from them ; and in the same situation were the remains of a miserable breastwork, recently thrown up by way of opposing the conquest of the province by Colonel Godwin's detachment in 1825.

“ At ten o'clock we proceeded to explore the river already mentioned, and the mouth of which falls into the harbour. In proceeding towards it from the place where we lay, we had all along three and a half and four fathoms water ; and over the bar, which was of soft ooze, quarter-less three. After entering, we carried five and a half and five fathoms for eight miles up, ranging the river from one side to another, until the steam-vessel sometimes touched the trees. For about a mile up, this stream is every where from four to five hundred yards wide ; and being soon landlocked, it forms a spacious and beautiful harbour, into which at low-water neap-tides most merchant-ships can enter ; and at high-water, ships of any burthen. The banks of this river would have formed by far the most convenient spot for a mercantile town ; but unfortunately they were, within any convenient distance of its mouth, low, and subject to inundation. We ascended the stream as far as a large branch which leads to the village of

Wagru, then distant two miles. This place, once the seat of government of a dynasty of Peguan kings in the thirteenth century, was now nearly without inhabitants, having been deserted in the great emigration of Talains into the Siamese territory. The river which we had now examined is called, in the Talain language, the Kalyen, and sometimes that of Wagru. Many small but navigable streams join the main branch. We ascended one of these, on the left bank of the river near its mouth, in our boats, as it appeared to lead to the neighbourhood of our proposed settlement. It brought us to a small village, the inhabitants of which were fishermen and salt manufacturers. These poor people expressed no apprehension at our appearance, but proceeded without disturbance in their usual occupations, obligingly answering all our questions. This feeling of confidence towards us is, I believe, at present general throughout the whole Talain population, and I trust our conduct may always be such as not to forfeit it.

“ By dawn of day on the 3d, we landed again on the promontory, and repeated our examination. Passing to the south-west of the cape, we proceeded along a beautiful sandy beach, shaded from the morning sun by a high bank on our left, covered with overhanging trees, many of them in fruit and flower; our Indian servants feasting upon the *Jamun*, which was found in great abundance. After a distance of about a mile and a



half, the strand now described was interrupted by a bold rocky promontory, but recommenced beyond it, and continued as far as the eye could reach. This promontory, as well as Cape Kyaikami itself, afforded us an opportunity of examining the rock formation, which is very various; consisting of granite, quartz-rock, clay-slate, mica slate, indurated clay, breccia, and clay-iron ore. The soil, apparently of good quality, and generally from two to three feet deep, as might be seen by the section of it in the wells, commonly rests on the clay-iron ore, which sometimes gives the water, in other respects pure and tasteless, a slight chalybeate flavour. The distance between the farthest rocky promontory and the river Kalyen we computed to be about two miles; the whole a tableland, nearly level, with the exception of a few hundred yards of mangrove on the immediate banks of the Kalyen. The peninsula thus formed contains about four square miles, an ample space of choice ground for a town, gardens, and military cantonments. The whole receives considerable protection from the south-west monsoon by the little woody island of Zebo, above one hundred feet high, and lying about three-quarters of a mile from the shore.

“At eleven o'clock in the forenoon we ascended the Saluen river, for Martaban. During nearly our whole course up, we had the large and fertile island of Balú on our left hand. This is the most

productive place in rice within the whole province, and afforded a considerable revenue to the Burmese Government. At sunset we reached Martaban, about twenty-seven miles from the mouth of the river. The prospect which opens itself upon the stranger here is probably one of the most beautiful and imposing which Oriental scenery can present. The waters of three large rivers, the Saluen, the Ataran, and the Gain, meet at this spot, and immediately proceed to the sea by two wide channels; so that, in fact, the openings of five distinct rivers are, as it were, seen at one view, proceeding like *radii* from a centre. This centre itself is a wide expanse of waters interspersed with numerous wooded islands. The surrounding country consists generally of woody hills, frequently crowned with white temples. In the distance are to be seen the high mountains of Zingai, and in favourable weather the more distant and lofty ones which separate Martaban from the countries of Lao and Siam. Captain Fenwick, the Civil Superintendent of Martaban, came on board to compliment us upon our arrival. Shortly after we landed with this gentleman, and passed the evening with him at his house, where we arranged an excursion, for the following day, up the Saluen to the Caves of Kogún.

“ Early on the morning of the 4th, a party visited the little picturesque island of Taongzé, opposite the town, and which is covered with white



temples. From thence we passed over to Maulamyaing, on the left bank of the river ; the place first contemplated for the site of a new town, and where part of the ground was already cleared of forest for this purpose. Situated twenty-five miles from the sea, by an intricate navigation, and accessible only to craft drawing ten feet water at the most, in point of convenience for a commercial establishment, it seemed to bear no comparison with the situation which we had already examined at the mouth of the river. Maulamyaing had once been the site of a town and capital under the Hindoo name of Ramapura, or the city of Rama ; and the high earthen walls and ditch could still be easily traced. When the tide served at eleven o'clock, we ascended the Saluen in the steam-vessel, the first of her description that had ever entered its waters. When twelve miles above Martaban, the stream, hitherto disturbed and muddy, became as clear as crystal, and we had still three fathoms depth. About this place we passed the Kadachaong creek, which leads to Rangoon through the Setaang and Pegu rivers, and thence again through several cross channels to Bassein, a direct distance of more than two hundred miles. The internal navigation of Pegu appears to me to possess natural facilities far beyond any other Asiatic country, of which this is a fair specimen. At half-past two o'clock, the tide aiding us all the while, we

reached Kogún, distant by computation twenty-five miles from Martaban. The scenery in this neighbourhood was grand and beautiful, the banks of the river high, and the country to all appearance peculiarly fertile. Close to the left bank of the river was to be seen a range of mountains, steep, bare, and craggy, rising to the apparent height of fifteen hundred feet. Almost immediately on the right bank, and where the river makes an acute angle, a number of detached conical hills rose almost perpendicularly from the plain. All these last are of a grey compact limestone. We visited the largest, which contains a spacious cave, dedicated to the worship of Gautama, and which, besides having its roof rudely but curiously carved, contains several hundred images of that deity, a good number of them of pure white marble from the quarries of Ava. Around the hill is a garden belonging to a neighbouring monastery, in no very good order. The only plant in it which struck us as remarkable, was a tree about twenty feet high, abounding in long and pendulous pannicles of rich geranium-coloured blossoms, and long and elegant lance-shaped leaves: it is of the class and order *Diadelphia Decandria*, and too beautiful an object to be passed unobserved, even by the uninitiated in botany. Handfuls of the flowers were found as offerings in the cave before the images of Gauta-



ma.\* At four o'clock, we began to descend the river, and at seven, with the assistance of the ebb-tide, the current of the river, and the full power of the steam, reached Martaban.

“ The cultivation of the fertile tract of country which we had passed in the course of the day is meagre, and proportionate to the oppressed and scanty population of a country, which hardly contains three inhabitants to a square mile, and these, of course, neither industrious nor intelligent. The objects of culture which we observed,—all in small patches, but growing with much luxuriance, notwithstanding the too obvious unskillfulness of the husbandry by which they were reared,—were indigo, cotton, and tobacco. Besides these, the upper part of the country, which is not subject to inundation, appears to be peculiarly fitted for the growth of the sugar-cane and coffee plant. Martaban, indeed, is a province of very various useful produce ; for, besides the articles already mentioned, it yields pepper, cardamums, areca-nut, and teak wood, not to mention rice, which seldom exceeds in price twenty annas

\* I showed the dry specimens of this plant to my friend Dr. Wallich, on his arrival at Rangoon, about four months afterwards, and he soon ascertained that it constituted a new genus. He afterwards examined it in person on the spot, transferred it to the Botanical Garden at Calcutta, and described it under the name of *Amherstia nobilis*, in compliment to the Countess of Amherst.

the maund. This is a list of valuable indigenous productions which can scarcely be matched in any other part of India.

“ On the morning of the 5th, we went through the town of Martaban, a long, straggling, and mean place, consisting of miserable huts, according to the custom of the country. It is situated at the foot of a conical hill, and is said to have contained a population of nine thousand souls, chiefly Talains. The Chinese are very few in number, a fact which, in a country understocked with inhabitants, calculated by nature for agricultural and commercial pursuits, and removed from their own at no very inconvenient distance, must be considered the certain sign of a bad government. We found the inhabitants preparing to move across to the British side of the Saluen. Such is the poverty, and such are the unsettled habits produced by oppression, that these emigrations are no very arduous undertaking to the Peguans. Yesterday we heard that one thousand two hundred families from the district of Zingai, with three thousand head of cattle, had arrived on the banks of the Saluen with the intention of crossing over into the British territory, there to establish themselves. But these are trifling emigrations in comparison with the great one which took place from the same quarter, in 1816, into the Siamese territory, and which, at the lowest computation, is said to have amounted to forty thou-



sand souls. The fugitives, on this occasion, conducted the plot with so much concert and secrecy, that, from one extremity of the province to another, they put themselves in motion towards the Siamese frontier on the same day ; and took such advantage of a temporary quarrel between the officers of the Burman Government among themselves, that the latter were neither in a condition to oppose their flight, nor to pursue them. By direction of the leaders of the emigration, cannon and musketry were simultaneously fired throughout the country, the concerted signal for the march. The lower orders, in their ignorance, ascribed the distant sounds which they heard to their tutelary gods.

“ At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, we left Martaban for Kyaikami, accompanied by Captain Fenwick. Close to Maulamyang, on the left bank of the river, is the termination of a range of hills of no very great height, which extends all the way to Zea, a district which commences with the right bank of the Kalyen river. In various parts of this range is found a rich and abundant ore of antimony, of which specimens were shown to us. The great range dividing Martaban from Lao and Siam, is said to afford ores of lead and copper. At five o'clock in the evening, we reached the newly discovered harbour.

“ Early on the morning of the 6th, we renewed our examination of the promontory. The day

before, a party of natives had cut a path quite across the highest part of it—a labour of no great difficulty, for the ground was firm and level, and it was only necessary to clear away a little underwood. The distance measured by the perambulator was found to be only one thousand yards. After seeing and examining the banks of the Martaban river to the extent of fifty miles, we found no difficulty now in fixing upon this spot, as by far the most eligible for a commercial town. Accordingly, at twelve o'clock, the ceremony of hoisting the British flag, and fixing the site of the town, in the name of his Majesty and the East India Company, took place. Major Macqueen, of the 36th Madras regiment, and his staff, with a detachment of Sepoys, who had arrived in the Lady Blackwood transport, joined our party. The Lady Blackwood fired a royal salute, and a party of Sepoys three volleys of musketry. The Rev. Mr. Judson pronounced his benediction in a feeling prayer.\* The new town and harbour

\* The following appropriate scriptural quotations introduced by Mr. Judson, may be considered as specimens of the good taste and judgment of my amiable friend:—"The abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee." "For brass I will bring gold, and for iron I will bring silver, and for wood brass, and for stones iron; I will also make thy officers peace, and thy exactors righteousness." "Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders."



were called Amherst, in compliment to the Governor-General.

“ *April 7.*—A party of workmen commenced yesterday to clear the ground for a small military cantonment, and a road having been opened all round the spot intended for it, we had an opportunity of deciding upon its eligibility. The whole country indeed up to the hills, and to within a few hundred yards of the Kalyen, was a dry, level, table-land, rising gently in the centre, than which nothing can be conceived more commodious or suitable to the purposes of an European settlement. I ought here to mention that the peninsula, from the south-west and north-east winds blowing without interruption over it, is well ventilated; that the climate, and we experienced it in one of the hottest months in the year, was consequently cool and agreeable; while the soil was so dry, that during our whole stay we did not see or feel a single musquito, or other troublesome insect. The testimony of the natives, let it farther be added, is decided in favour of the salubrity both of this spot and of the neighbouring country, including the town of Martaban itself. In passing along the sandy beach on the western shore yesterday and to-day, we saw the fresh tracks of three leopards, many fresh tracks of wild cats, large deer, and buffaloes. The latter, we were told, were the cattle left behind by the emigrated Talains already mentioned, which they had not

time to take along with them, and which therefore had taken to the forests and become wild. In the mountains close at hand, however, there exist real wild buffaloes and many elephants. In the forest, when examining the ground for cantonments, we saw one large deer and several monkeys, and the woods abound with the common wild-fowl and peacock.

“ In walking along the sandy beach this morning, we unexpectedly met two priests, who readily entered into conversation with us, and were very communicative. They had heard of our projected settlement, and took advantage of the circumstance to cheer us in our undertaking, by paying us a compliment, I fear, at the expense of their veracity. They said, that the place was fortunate ; that the Temple of Kyaikami was dedicated to the God of Fortune, which the term imported in their language. They added, that they had that morning perused their sacred books, and in these found it written that a colony of white men would one day settle in the neighbouring country.

“ Captain Hammond having measured the ground with the perambulator, a matter which was easily effected along the smooth sandy beach, drew out a plan of the whole ground, and in the course of the day we were busy in allotting the ground for the various wants and necessities of a new town. The north-western promontory was



reserved for the Government, the high ground immediately fronting the harbour was set apart for the European and Chinese, or, in other words, the commercial establishment, and the lower grounds towards the Kalyen river, for the native town. A ground plan of the European town was sketched, composed of ten streets, with four hundred houses; the great front street, consisting of one row, and containing nineteen lots, each of sixty feet front, and one hundred feet deep, being especially appropriated for principal mercantile establishments. Immediately behind the town was ground for an esplanade, beyond which, and on the western shore, were the military cantonments, and to the south-west of the whole, towards the hills, ample room remained for gardens and garden-houses, ground for a church, a botanical garden, and an European and Chinese burying-ground. Regulations for the construction of the town were adopted; and in appropriating and granting lands, the liberal and comprehensive rules laid down for the flourishing settlement of Singapore were assumed for this meditated new one.

“ Shortly after determining on the site of the town, a proclamation in the Burmese language was addressed to the inhabitants, of which the following is a literal translation. The object of it was to encourage the resort to, and conciliate the prejudices of the people; but at the same time to hold out no assurances which might have the

effect of embarrassing our future administration of the province, or our political relations with the Burman Government.

“ ‘ The Commissioner of the Governor-General of British India to the Talains, Burmans, and other tribes of people. In conformity with the treaty of peace, between the Governor-General and the King of Ava, the English Government takes possession of the places beyond the Saluen river, and at the entrance of the sea, in the district of Ky-aikami, founds a new town.

“ ‘ The inhabitants of the towns and villages who wish to come to the new place, may come and settle; those who come shall be free from molestation, extortion, and oppression. They shall be free to worship as usual temples, monasteries, priests, and holy men. There shall be no interruption of free trade, but people shall go and come, buy and sell, do and live as they please, conforming to the laws. In regard to employing the labouring people, they shall be employed on the payment of customary wages, and whoever compels their labour without reward shall be punished. In regard to slavery, since all men, whether common people or chiefs, are by nature equal, there shall be under the English Government no slaves. Let all debts and engagements contracted under the Burmese Government previous to the war, be discharged and fulfilled according to the written documents. Touching the appointment of officers



and chiefs, they are appointed to promote the prosperity of the towns and villages and the welfare of the inhabitants. If, therefore, they take property by violence, or govern unjustly, they shall be degraded and punished. In regard to government assessments, when the country is settled and prosperous, consultation will be held with the leaders of the people, and what is suitable and moderate will be taken to defray the necessary expenses of government.

“ ‘Whoever desires to come to the new town, or to the towns and villages beyond the Saluen river under the English Government, may come and live happily, and those who do not wish to remain may go where they please, without hindrance.

“ ‘Given at Martaban, the 6th April, and the 14th of the wane of the moon Tagoo, 1187.’

“Anxious to make a farther examination of the Kalyen river, we ascended it again at eleven o’clock, and proceeded up to the distance of fourteen miles, having every where from four to five fathoms water. At the farthest point which we ascended, the river did not exceed seventy yards in breadth, and in one or two situations the hills were within a mile and a half of us. No elevated ground was, however, any where to be found on its banks. The highest spring-tides took place this morning, and this afforded us an opportunity of determining the greatest rise and fall of the

tides, and other important points connected with the navigation of the harbour and the entrance into it. The greatest rise and fall in the springs appears to be between eighteen and nineteen feet ; at neaps, it is five or six feet less. On the oozy bar of the Kalyen, there were this morning, at the lowest ebb, ten feet water, and at the highest flood, quarter-less five fathoms. Every morning since our arrival, Captain Studdert was employed from three to four hours in examining and sounding the harbour and its approaches. Between the reef of rocks already mentioned, and at no great distance from the cape, there is a channel which has been long used by Chinese junks and native vessels ; but for European shipping, the proper entrance into the harbour is close round the extremity of the reef, and between it and a shoal lying north of it.

From the description now given of the harbour,—the entrance into it, and the neighbouring localities, it is obvious that the place is capable, at a very trifling expense, of being fortified in such a manner as to render it quite impregnable. A battery on the promontory completely commands the town, and protects the shipping, which may lie in good anchorage within fifty yards of the shore. An enemy entering the harbour might be sunk from a martello tower on the high rock of Kyaikami, a few hundred yards from the promontory. A battery at either side of the en-



trance of the Kalyen would render the harbour formed by this river equally secure.

“ Upon the commercial advantages of the place it is scarcely necessary to insist. Ships, as already said, may lie within fifty yards of the shore, and within seventy-five of the merchants’ warehouses. Sheltered by the cape, by the long reef of rocks to the north-west of the harbour, and by the innumerable sand-banks to the north of it, dry at low water, as well as by the great island of Balú, and the continent on the east bank of the Martaban river, ships will lie in smooth water, except perhaps for a moment in the westerly monsoon during high flood, and when the wind, as is not often the case, shifts to the west or north-west. In such an event, vessels with indifferent tackle, or in a disabled state, may slip with perfect facility into the Kalyen river, a short mile to the lee of the harbour, then accessible to merchant-vessels of the largest burthen.

“ At half-past two o’clock on the afternoon of the 8th, we quitted the new harbour on our return to Rangoon, taking, in going out, the channel commonly frequented by native vessels. It was not above fifty yards broad. We went through it with the commencement of the ebb-tide, and had a depth throughout of nothing less than five fathoms and a half. On the evening of the 9th, we made the entrance of the Ran-

goon river, and early on the morning of the 10th reached the town."

*Feb. 9.*—On the 3d, the ship *Bombay Merchant*, which had our baggage on board, arrived at Amherst; and on the 6th, I made an arrangement with the commander to take us to Bengal. The next morning, I proceeded up to Maula-myaing in the steam-vessel, to arrange some points of business with Sir A. Campbell, who returned with me on the 8th to Amherst. On the evening of that day, leaving my friend Dr. Wallich behind to prosecute his botanical researches, we embarked in the *Bombay Merchant*, and at nine o'clock this morning, with a fair wind, sailed out of the harbour in prosecution of our voyage to Bengal. The weather in the Bay of Bengal, especially the upper part of it, although generally fine throughout the north-east monsoon, can at no time of the year be implicitly relied upon. February, however, is the most steady month, and there is hardly any example of a gale in it.

*Feb. 23.*—Our passage was remarkably favourable, and the weather exceedingly fine throughout. We took in a pilot at the sand-heads on the 21st, having thus, as the reckoning is usually made, effected our passage in twelve days. Here, as frequently happens in this season, we were becalmed, and it would probably have taken us eight days more to have reached Calcutta, had we



proceeded all the way in the ship. On the evening of the 22d, however, the steam-vessel *Emulous*, the finest and most suitable vessel of this class which has ever been seen in India, fortunately hove in sight, towing down a ship of six hundred tons, bound for England. The *Emulous* took our whole party on board at sunset, while we were still one hundred and forty miles from Calcutta, and not in sight of the island of Saugor, and proceeding all night, for the most part against the tide, landed us safely, at an early hour next morning. My report and dispatches being all ready, I delivered them, as well as the most valuable part of the presents, within half an hour of my landing, to the Secretary of Government.

Before bringing this narrative to a close, I shall beg to refer the reader for an account of our political relations with the Burmese to my public dispatch, which will be found in the APPENDIX. I shall only observe in this place, that the Treaty of Commerce, not less than that of Peace, ought, had it been practicable, to have been dictated under the British cannon at Yandabo; instead of having been delayed to a future and distant period, when the Burmese, recovered in some measure from their fears by the military evacuation of their country, necessarily entertained towards us, after their losses and humiliation, no other sentiments than those of irritation and dissatisfaction. I am far from being of opinion, that in

such a convention we ought under any circumstances to have secured exclusive privileges to ourselves. The conditions should be strictly reciprocal, and the letter and spirit of the engagement such as would tend to develop the resource of both countries, especially by removing all that was oppressive, vexatious, and impolitic in the system long tenaciously persevered in by the Burmese, and which had proved still more injurious to themselves than to the foreign nations which had been in the habit of commercial intercourse with them. The draft of a treaty containing such stipulations, as in my judgment would have answered this end, was submitted to the Indian Government: but after the termination of the war, it was far too late to propose it to the Court of Ava. Before this could be done, it was reduced from twenty-two to seven articles: in the course of the negotiation, these last were again contracted to five; and finally, four only, and these, in a mutilated and imperfect form, were carried.

With respect to our political relations, I may add, that perhaps the best means of consolidating them would have been the retention of the port of Rangoon, and a trifling territory surrounding it, a position well secured by its military strength. I had the honour of suggesting this measure, and proposed to surrender in exchange for it our territorial acquisitions to the south, and the future pecuniary payments stipulated for in the Treaty



of Peace ; but it was found that such an arrangement, had it been sanctioned by higher authority, came much too late to be proposed to the Burmans, who were sensibly alive to the political, military, and commercial advantages of the port of Rangoon. The benefits which would have accrued from this measure would have been great. It would have exonerated us from our too extensive territorial acquisitions from the Burmese Government,—settled our pecuniary claims on the Court of Ava,—placed us in a commanding military attitude, which would have relieved us from all apprehension of annoyance from the power of the Burmese,—given us the command of the navigation of the Irawadi, and possession of a port, which, in a commercial and military view, is probably, under all circumstances, the most convenient and useful in the Indian seas.

## CHAPTER IV.

Different tribes inhabiting the Burman territory.—Burmese—their physical form—customs—dress—progress in the useful arts—in higher branches of knowledge—kalendar—epochs—weights and measures—navigation and geography—language and literature—religion.

THE extensive area of the Burman territory is inhabited by many distinct nations, or tribes, of whom I have heard not less than eighteen enumerated. The most considerable of these are the proper Burmans, the Peguans or Talains, the Shans or people of Lao, the Cassay, or more correctly Kathé, the Zabaing, the Karian, correctly called Karens, the Kyens, the Yo, and the Lawà. These are numerous and civilized, nearly in the order in which I have enumerated them. Differing as they do in language, and often in manners, customs, and religion, they have, with distinctions not always perceptible to a stranger, the same physical type. This is the common type of all the tribes which lie between Hindostan and China. In this respect they differ widely from the Chinese and



Hindoos, and approach more nearly to the Malays, although from these also they differ so considerably, that even a stranger may distinguish them without difficulty. Taking the Burmans for this character, they may be described as of a short, stout, and active, but still well-proportioned form. Their complexion is never of an intense black, but commonly brown. The hair of the head, like that of other tropical nations, is black, coarse, lank, and abundant. There is a little more beard, and generally more hair on other parts of the body, than among the tribes of the same race lying to the south of them,—such as the Siamese and people of Lao. The climate and physical aspect of the countries occupied by the different tribes constituting the subjects of the Burman empire, do not seem to produce any material difference in their physical form. One might expect to find the inhabitants of the dry and elevated country principally occupied by the true Burmans, larger and more athletic than those of the marshy campaign principally occupied by the Talains. This, however, is by no means the case; and if there be any difference, it is in favour of the latter, who are alleged to be a more robust and active race than the true Burmans.

The Burmans are greatly inferior to the Hindoos in civilization, and still more so to the Chinese. They are, as far as a stranger can judge, nearly upon an equality with the Siamese; and

to compare them with a more distinct and distant people, they seem to me to approach more nearly to the condition of the inhabitants of the island of Java than to that of any other foreign people. They are, at the same time, more improved than the other civilized inhabitants of the eastern Archipelago. With respect to the whole of this last group, however, it must be remarked that the type of their civilization is of so different a kind from that of the Hindoo Chinese nations, that no fair comparison can well be instituted between them. For example, the country of the Burmans, from its fertility and continuity, is generally more favourable to social improvement than that of the Indian islanders. The laws and political institutions of the Burmans, bad as they are, are commonly better than those of the Indian islanders; yet the Burmans are greatly inferior to the latter in enterprise, courage, personal independence, and even morality. In one respect they agree; that is, in the comparative absence of religious or political bigotry and freedom from unsocial customs. The brief delineation of their customs, arts, and institutions, contained in the following chapters, will, however, convey a more accurate notion of the actual social condition of the Burmans than any general description.

The first point which I shall advert to is that of dress. One barbarous practice, that of tattooing or staining the skin of an indelible tint, ob-



tains amongst the Burmans and Talains : it is confined to the men. This operation commences as early as the age of seven, eight, and nine years, and is often continued to thirty-five and forty. The principal tattooing is confined to that portion of the body from the navel to below the knee. What is on this is of a black or blue colour. The tint is given by a mixture of lamp-black, procured from the soot of sessamum oil, and the gall of a fish—the *mirga* of India. The figures imprinted consist of animals, such as lions, tigers, monkeys, and hogs, with crows, some fabulous birds, Nats, and Balús or demons. Occasionally there are added cabalistic letters and figures intended as charms against wounds. The figure is first painted on the skin, which is afterwards punctured by needles dipped in the pigment. The arms and upper part of the body are more sparingly tattooed, and generally of a red colour, the tint being given by vermilion. The process is not only painful but expensive. The tattooing of as much surface as can be covered by “six fingers” costs a quarter of a tical, when the operation is performed by an ordinary artist ; but when by one of superior qualifications, the charge is much higher. Not to be thus tattooed is considered by the Burmans as a mark of *effeminacy*, and there is no one who is not so more or less. Among the nations to the eastward of the Burrumpooter, the custom seems originally to have been confined to the Burmans

and Talains. The nations whom they have subjugated have, more or less, followed their example,—such as the Kyens, the Aracanese, and the Shans. Neither the Siamese, the Kambojans, the people of Lao, generally, the Cassays, or the Aracanese, before their conquest, appear to have practised tattooing.

Another practice, which seems universal with both sexes, and with all the races inhabiting the Burman territories, is that of boring the lobe of the ear, so as to make a very large, and unseemly aperture, into which is stuffed a gold or silver ornament, or in lieu of them a bit of wood, or a roll of paper, gilt or otherwise. If the aperture in question happen not to be previously occupied, a man or woman, after smoking half a segar, is often seen thrusting the remainder into the ear for future use.

The custom of blackening the teeth indelibly, appears at one time to have been general among the Burmans, but is now grown out of use. Black teeth are not at present considered becoming, but the contrary. Young men and women, before the age of marriage, keep their teeth white and clean ; but after that time, it would be considered an unbecoming affectation of youth in the one sex, and an indication of loose immodesty in the other, to be too nice upon this point. The constant use of the betel preparation, indeed, soon makes the teeth black and ugly enough, when its effects are not



counteracted by care and cleanliness, and this is rarely the case.

The Burmans are great consumers of the betel mixture. The preparation, as used by them, consists of the following ingredients:—the leaf of the betel pepper, the areca nut, catechu, lime, and a little tobacco. The betel pepper is produced in great abundance throughout the Burman territory. The areca thrives well in the southern provinces, and yields a nut best suited to the Burman taste; but the produce is inadequate to the consumption, and large quantities are imported from Dacca, Chittagong, and the Straits of Malacca, the last being the lowest priced and least esteemed.

The practice of smoking tobacco obtains universally amongst the Burmans of all ranks—of both sexes—and of almost all ages; for I have seen children scarcely three years old, who seemed quite familiar with it. The mode of smoking is by segars, which are composed of shredded tobacco, rolled up in the leaf of another plant,—I believe, a species of ficus. Sometimes a little of the root of the tobacco is mixed up with the shredded leaf.

With respect to dress, the Burmese are, upon the whole, well, and not unbecomingly clad. In this last respect, however, their costume will bear no comparison with the flowing and graceful garments of the western nations of India; nor does it by any means convey the same notion of com-

fort and civility as the costume of the Chinese, or even of the Tonquinese and Cochin Chinese. Too much of the body is left naked, which gives an impression of barbarism ; and the texture and pattern of the fabrics worn, although substantial and durable, are comparatively coarse and homely.

The principal part of the male dress is called a Pus'ho. This covers the loins, reaching half-way down the leg. It consists of a double piece of cloth composed of silk, cotton, or a mixture of both, about ten cubits long. This is loosely wrapped about the body and secured only by having one portion of it tacked under another, one extremity being allowed to hang down loosely before.

The second part of a man's dress is called an Engi, and consists of a frock with sleeves. This comes down below the knees, and is tied with strings in front. It generally consists of white cotton cloth ; but the great, on occasions of ceremony, have it made of velvet, and occasionally of broad-cloth. In the cold weather, these jackets, when of cotton, are quilted ; and a considerable number of them, always dyed black, and highly glazed, are brought to Ava, ready made, from the country of the Shans.

The head-dress is a small square handkerchief, put on in the manner of a turban, but leaving the upper part of the head bare. This is now most commonly made of English book-muslin, or English or Madras printed handkerchiefs.



The principal portion of a woman's dress goes under the name of a Thabi, and is a petticoat, more or less open in front, according to the condition of the wearer. With the lower classes, both for economy and convenience, the breadth is so scanty, that in walking, the knee at least, and often half-way up the thigh, is exposed to view at every step. With the higher orders, this portion of the dress, because ampler, is consequently more decent, but it is also less convenient. Women use an Engi, or frock, somewhat different in form and shorter than that of the men. They generally wear no head-dress. Men and women wear the hair long; the first tying it in a knot on the crown of the head, and the last at the back. Some Burmese beaux tie the knot to a side. Sandals are frequently used by both sexes, but neither shoes, boots, or stockings, under any circumstances. Umbrellas also are in very general use among all classes. These are among the principal insignia of rank or office; and the description of them, from those of plain brown varnished paper, to red, green, gilded, and plain white, the royal colour, distinguishes the quality of the wearer.

The habit of the priesthood differs entirely from that of the laity, but has been so often described, that I need not recur to it. The head has not only no covering, but is, or ought to be, closely shaved, and the only protection to it when abroad is a small fan of palmyra-leaf. The colour

appropriated for the dress of the priesthood is yellow, and it would be deemed nothing less than sacrilege in any one else to use it: so peculiarly sacred is it held, that it is not uncommon to see one of the people pay his devotions in due form to the old garment of a priest on a bush, hung out to dry, or to one after being washed. At the conferences at Yandabo which led to peace, the Burmese negotiators made a formal complaint to the British Commissioners, that some of our camp-followers had been seen wearing yellow clothes! It may be considered as rather a curious coincidence, that yellow is a frequent if not favourite colour in the dress of the lowest outcasts among the Hindus.

The progress made by the Burmese in the useful arts is but very moderate. The whole process of cleaning cotton, of spinning, weaving, and generally of dying, are performed by women; the only men who are weavers being the captive Cassays. The loom is very rude, commonly resembling that used in India; but the artisans are much inferior in dexterity to those of that country, and such a thing as fine linen of native manufacture is never seen among the Burmese. Cotton cloths are manufactured for sale all the way along both sides of the Irawadi, from Ngamyagyi to Shwe-daong;—wherever, in short, the raw material is cheap and abundant. All the cotton fabrics manufactured by the Burmans are



comparatively high-priced ; and in general, British piece-goods can be sold cheaper, even in the interior of the country, than the domestic manufacture.

The best raw silk is brought from China, an inferior kind from Lao, and some is prepared in different parts of Pegu, especially at Lain and Shwegyen. The principal places for manufacturing silk cloths are Ava, Monchabo, Pakok'ho, Pagan, and Shwe-daong. The finest fabrics of silk are made at Ava, or rather Amarapura, where Chinese raw silk is the material; and the coarsest at Shwe-daong, where it is the produce of Pegu. The women are the manufacturers of silk cloths as well as of those of cotton. In general, Burman silk manufactures are coarse, high-priced, but durable. A few silks are imported into the country by the Shans and Kyens ; and satins and velvets, in small quantities, by the Chinese, chiefly for the use of the Court. I may notice it as rather a remarkable fact, that such of the silk fabrics of the Kyens as we saw, were of a much finer and better texture than those of their more civilized masters the Burmans : they consisted of rich and heavy crimson scarfs, or narrow shawls, occasionally embroidered with gold, and not destitute of beauty.

The prevailing colours in silks and cottons are blue, red, yellow, green, brown, and black. Blue is invariably given by indigo ; red by safflower, partly produced in the country, but mostly im-

ported from Bengal; yellow by turmeric, and by the wood of the jack-tree, (*Artocarpus integrifolia*.) The common mordant is alum, which is imported from China. Burman colours are generally very fugitive, especially with cottons. The patterns are all stripes and checks, a decided mark of rudeness. Printing is unknown to them.

The common coarse unglazed earthenware of the Burmans is the best of the kind which I have seen in India, and is very cheap. It is used for cooking utensils, and for keeping grain, oil, salt, pickled-fish, and similar commodities. A better description of pottery, strong and glazed, has been manufactured at Martaban, Pagan, Sengko, Senkaing, Monchabo, and Tharet. Some articles of this description, which have been long well known in other parts of India under the name of "Pegue jars," are so large as to contain two hundred viss of oil, or about one hundred and eighty-two gallons. A few of them are even of such magnitude, that it has been alleged, that the children of Europeans, born in the country, have been smuggled away in them, in former times, to elude the Burman law. The Burmans are unacquainted with the art of making any kind of porcelain, however coarse. What they use is Chinese, imported by junks into Rangoon from the European settlements in the Straits of Malacca, this being too bulky an article to be imported by land-carriage direct from China.



Iron-ore is obtained and smelted in the vicinity of the mountain Paopa and the district of Mreduh. It costs at Ava, according to quality, which is very various, from eight ticals to fifteen per hundred viss, or three hundred and sixty-five pounds. This loses, when forged, from thirty to fifty per cent. in weight. The Burmans cannot manufacture steel, which, as well as some iron, is imported from Bengal in considerable quantity. The principal places where cutlery, always coarse and rude, is manufactured, are Ava and Pagan : here swords, spears, knives, scissors, and carpenters' tools, are fabricated: muskets, or rather matchlocks, are also made at Ava. The best-tempered swords are imported from the country of the Shans. A Burman matchlock is generally sold for ten ticals of flowered silver, or about twenty-five shillings ; and an old English musket at from fifteen to twenty ticals, or from thirty-seven shillings and sixpence to fifty shillings.

Brass-ware is not very extensively used by the Burmans in their domestic economy, earthen and lackered wares being, in a good measure, substituted for it. Still, however, there is a considerable consumption of it for such articles as candlesticks, spit-pots, vessels for carrying water to the pagodas, &c. We saw a considerable manufactory of such articles a few miles from Sagaing. The copper which is used for this purpose is brought from China, and the zinc from Lao. Bells are very

frequent in the temples and monasteries. The tin made use of in the composition of these is brought from Tavoy and Lao. I may here notice, that we found in the market of Ava, without ascertaining to what purpose it was put, a considerable quantity of antimony, reduced to the metallic state, and said to be brought from Lao. As the process of preparing this article is one of considerable difficulty, the possession of it by the Shans would seem to imply a considerable share of skill in metallurgy. I remember, that when an ore of this metal was brought to Singapore, the Chinese at that place seemed wholly unacquainted with the art of reducing it.

Gold and silver ornaments are manufactured in every considerable place in the country, but particularly at the capital. Some of the gold ornaments which we saw at the latter were massive and rather handsome, particularly the different vessels for holding the various materials of the betel preparation. In general, however, the jewellery of the Burmans is not only inferior in taste and workmanship to that of several other parts of India, but decidedly clumsy and rude.

Three descriptions of paper are used by the Burmans. The first is a domestic manufacture, made from the fibres of the young bamboo. This is a substance as thick as pasteboard, which is rubbed over with a mixture of charcoal and rice-water. Thus prepared, it is written upon with a



pencil of steatite as we write on a slate. The impression may be blotted out with the moistened hand, and the paper is again fit to be written upon. This process, if the paper be good, may be often repeated. Another description of paper is imported from Mainkaing, one of the tributary states of Lao. This is a strong, white, blotting-paper, and is universally used for packages, for the decorations of coffins, and for making ornaments offered to the temples and exhibited at festivals. The Chinese import stained paper, also used for ornaments offered to the temples and for decorating coffins.

In the higher branches of knowledge, the attainments of the Burmese, as may well be expected, are extremely limited: their astronomy and astrology, such as they are, are, for the most part, borrowed from the Hindus. Indeed, from the earliest times, the court has always maintained a number of Bramins from Bengal, who have the exclusive direction of such matters. The Burmese kalendar is as follows:—A common year consists of twelve months, each month being alternately of twenty-nine and thirty days: the year, therefore, consists of three hundred and fifty-four days, or is a lunar one. In order to preserve the solar time, the fourth month of every third year is doubled, which brings the year to three hundred and sixty-four days: the additional day and hours are supplied as occasion demands by

a royal edict, under the advice of the Bramins. These, by custom, are added to the third month of the year. The names of the Burmese months are as follow ; viz. Ta-gu, Ka-chon, Na-yon, Wa-cho, Wa-gaong, Tau-tha-leng, Tha-den-kywot, Ta-chaong-mon, Nat-dau, Pya-tho, Ta-bo-dwai, and Ta-baong. The Burmese do not, like us, and the western nations of Asia, enumerate the days of the entire month : they divide each month into two parts, an increasing and a waning moon ; and it is of these subdivisions that the days are enumerated. The first day of a month, for example, will be the first of the increasing moon ; and the sixteenth, the first of the waning moon. In each month there are four days of public worship, when the people repair to pay their devotions at the temples ; namely, the new moon, the eighth of the increase, the full moon, and the eighth of the wane. By far the most important of these holidays are those of the new and full moon. The Burmese have a week of seven days ; of which last, the names correspond in sense, although not in name, with those of our own and the Hindu week. The native terms are, Ta-nen-ga-nwa, Ta-neng-la, Enga, Bud-da-hu, Kya-tha-ba-da, Thaok-kya, and Cha-na. These may be translated, the days of the Sun and Moon, and of the planets Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn. The natural day is divided by the Burmese into sixty parts, called Nari. Thus subdivided, it commences with



the dawn, and according to the season of the year, more or fewer of the divisions in question are allotted, respectively to the day or the night. The longest day or night consists of thirty-six Narís, and the shortest of twenty-four. A popular division of the day is into eight watches, of which four are allotted to the night, and as many to the day. Each watch consists of three hours; and the day, thus reckoned, commences with the dawn. The time-keeper employed by the Burmese is a copper cup, perforated at the bottom, and placed in a vase of water, which sinks to a particular mark at the close of each Narí, when a great bell, suspended from a tall belfry close to the palace, is struck. This mode of keeping time is evidently derived from the Hindus. There is a regular establishment at Ava for this particular service; in reference to which there is a curious custom observed from time immemorial among the persons employed in this service. If the person in immediate charge of the time-keeper commit any error, his companions are at liberty to carry him off and sell him at once in the public market. The sale, however, is merely a mock one, the price being always fixed at a very trifling amount, so that the offender may easily ransom himself without much difficulty; and, in fact, he does so, by making his companions a present of some rice, fish, and other necessaries. The Burmese have,

at present, no division of time into cycles, like their neighbours the Siamese, Kambojans, and others. Such however seems in remote times to have prevailed, as appears by the evidence of some ancient inscriptions.

The Burmese have no less than four epochs: the first of these, called the grand epoch, corresponds with the year 691 before Christ. This is alleged to have been founded by King An-ja-na, the grandfather of Gautama. The second is the sacred epoch, which dates from the death of Gautama, and corresponds with the year before Christ 543. The alleged founder of this was a king named by the Burmese Ajatasat. The third epoch is called the era of Prome, and is said to have been established by a king named Sumundri, (of the sea). This corresponds with the year of Christ 79; and although supposed by the Burmese to be of native origin, there is no doubt but that it is the era of Salivana, or Saka, borrowed from the Hindus of the southern peninsula of India. The fourth and last epoch, is the vulgar and Burman one—that in most frequent use. It corresponds with the year of Christ 639, and is said to have been established by a king of Pagan, named Pup-pa-chau-rah-an. In a manuscript chronological table, of which a translation will be given in the APPENDIX, all these four epochs are included.



The following is a sketch of the measures and weights in use amongst the Burmans. The measures of distance are these ; viz.

10 Cha-k'hyis,	or	}	1 N'hon.
hair-breadths (se-			
samum-seed.)			
6 N'hons	=		1 Mo-yau.
4 Mo-yaus	=		1 T'hit (finger-breadth.)
8 T'hits	=		1 Maik (hand-breadth.)
$1\frac{1}{2}$ Maiks	=		1 T'hwa (span).
2 T'hwass	=		1 Taong (cubit).
4 Taongs	=		1 Lan (fathom).
7 Taongs	=		1 Ta (bamboo).
20 Tas	=		1 Ok-tha-pa.
20 Ok-tha-pas	=		1 Kosa.
4 Kosas	=		1 Gawot.
40 Gawots	=		1 Ujana.
7000 Taongs, or	}	=	1 Taing.
cubits			

The finger-breadth, above alluded to, is that of the fore-finger taken at the middle point. The hand-breadth includes the extended thumb. These two, with the span, the cubit, the bamboo, and the taing, are the measures in most frequent use. The royal cubit, which is the standard, was exhibited to us at the conferences, and, upon being carefully compared, was found to measure exactly  $19\frac{1}{10}$  English inches. According to this, the Burman finger-breadth is  $\frac{99}{100}$  of an inch ; the fathom  $76\frac{4}{10}$  inches ; the bamboo  $133\frac{7}{10}$  ; and the

taing, 2 miles, 193 yards, 2 feet, 8 inches. The Kosa and Ujana are, in all probability, from their names, borrowed from India : they are not in use.

Burmese weights are as follow :—

2 Small Rwés	=	1 Large Rwé.
4 Large do.	=	1 Bai.
2 Bais	=	1 Mu.
2 Mus	=	1 Mat'h.
4 Mat'hs	=	1 Kyat.
100 Kyats	=	1 Paiktha.

The small rwé here named is the *Arbrus precatorius*, and the larger bean that of the *Adenanthera pavonina*. The kyat is the weight which we have called the tical, and the paiktha is our vis. I believe both words are corruptions borrowed from the Mohammedan merchants of India, sojourning in the Burman country. The origin of the word tical I have not been able to ascertain. That of the other is sufficiently curious. The *p* and *v* are commutable consonants. The Mohammedan sojourners cannot pronounce the *th* of the Burmans, and always substitute an *s* for it. The *k* is mute even in the Burman pronunciation, and the final *a* is omitted by Europeans only. Thus, we have the word Paiktha commuted into Vis! This measure is equal to 3 lbs.  $\frac{65}{100}$  Avoirdupois.

The representations of the different Burmese weights are uniform and well regulated. They consist of masses of brass, of which the handle, or



apex, represents the fabulous bird which is the standard of the empire.

The measures of capacity are as follow :—

2 Lamyets	.	.	=	.	1 Lamé.
2 Lamés	.	.	=	.	1 Salé.
4 Salés	.	.	=	.	1 Pyi.
2 Pyis	.	.	=	.	1 Sarot.
2 Sarots	.	.	=	.	1 Sait.
4 Saites	.	.	=	.	1 Ten.

This last measure is what is usually called by us “ a basket,” and ought to weigh 16 viss of clean rice, or  $58\frac{2}{5}$  lbs. Avoirdupois: it has commonly been reckoned at half-a-cwt. All grains, pulses, certain fruits, natron, salt, and lime, are bought and sold by measure—other commodities by weight.

Of navigation, or geography, the Burmese are, of course, supremely ignorant. Nearly the whole extent of their foreign adventures is bounded to the south by Prince of Wales’s Island, and to the north by the Hoogley. To these places, but especially to the latter, they make annual voyages in the fine season, creeping all the while along the coast, and in sight of it; and in their adventures to Calcutta, commonly seeking protection from the open sea in the internal navigation of the Sunderbunds.

The possession of a sea-coast, comprehending at least one-third of the Bay of Bengal, with five good harbours and several navigable rivers, it

might have been expected, would have been sufficient to have converted the Burmese into a maritime and commercial people ; but the badness of their political institutions far more than outweigh all these natural advantages. Of their acquaintance with foreign countries, an anecdote related by the late Major Canning will show the extent. This officer was deputed by the Government of Bengal, in 1812, to explain to the Court of Ava the nature of our system of blockade. In a conference which ensued, one of the Burman Ministers put the following question to the Envoy :—“Supposing a Burman ship, in her voyage to China, should happen to be dismasted off the island of Mauritius, would she be allowed by the British blocking squadron, to enter that port?” I have mentioned in my journal, that they possess rude maps of several portions of their own country, the only favourable deduction to be made from which fact is, that they are not insensible to the utility of such documents. . Notwithstanding this, however, we found the persons who negotiated with us, and they were undoubtedly among the most intelligent of the Burman courtiers, extremely ignorant, even in regard to the topography of those portions of the country which became the immediate subjects of discussion, and concerning which it was their particular duty at the time to have informed themselves.



In reference to the state of Burman knowledge, I ought not to omit an intense passion for alchemy, of which the object is to transmute the baser into the precious metals.\* From our earliest acquaintance with the Burmans, they seem to have been tainted with this folly : persons of all ranks, who can afford to waste their time and money, engage in it ; and even his present Majesty and his predecessors have not disdained thus to occupy their leisure hours. A question frequently put to us was, whether we, the English, did not understand the art of converting iron into silver, and copper into gold. They observed our comparative wealth, and thought they could not so rationally account for it, as by imagining that we were adepts in the art of transmuting metals. A similar question, “Can the English convert iron into silver?” was put by the Burmese courtiers to an intelligent Armenian merchant who had long resided among them, and who understood their language perfectly. His reply was, that the English understood the art perfectly, but not in the sense in which they meant it. He took an English penknife out of his pocket, and threw it down on the table before them, observing, that it was worth more than its weight in silver, and that this was an

\* The search for an elixir of immortality forms no part of Burman alchymy. This would be contrary to their religion ; for, according to their system, immortality, or even longevity, would be a misfortune and not a blessing.

example of the skill of the English in converting the base into the precious metals.\*

A smattering of education is very common amongst the Burmans; perhaps more so than among any people of the East. This is chiefly owing to the institution of monasteries, and it being considered a kind of religious duty in the priests to instruct youth. Boys begin to go to school from eight to ten years of age, but generally at the latter. The monasteries are the only schools, and the priests generally the only teachers. Education is entirely eleemosynary, and the children even live at the Kyaongs, the parents only making occasional presents to the priests. In return for education, the children serve their tutors in a menial capacity, which, whatever their rank, is considered no discredit, but the contrary. They are instructed for about six hours in the day. Education consists in reading, writing, and a slight knowledge of the four common rules of arithmetic. A little reading is so frequent, that there is not one man in ten who is not possessed of it. Writing is less common, but this also is pretty general. The nuns, or female priestesses, instruct girls in

\* When the Burmese perceived us collecting minerals and fossils, they pronounced at once, both chiefs and people, that our certain object was to convert them into gold and silver. That our object was nothing more than the gratification of a rational curiosity, was a notion so strange and foreign to their own habits and ideas, that no reasoning could convince them of the sincerity of our assurances.



reading ; but few females are taught to write : even reading is not general among them. My friend Mr. Judson, after a long experience, gives the following account of the state of education amongst the Burmans. “ Scholars are considered capable of reading and writing, when able to repeat and copy the *Then-pong-kyi*, or “ spelling-book,” and the *Men-ga-la-thok*, or “ moral lessons.” Their arithmetical knowledge is almost confined to the multiplication table. A few who aspire to the character of “ learned,” advance from the elements of knowledge to the study of *Baden* or astrology, and that of the Pali language. This last is studied in the *Thaddu-kyau*, or grammar in eight divisions, and in various parts of the Buddhist scriptures. The *ne plus ultra* in Burman education is the study of the *Then-gyo*, or “ book of metaphysics.”

Of the Burman language and literature my time and opportunities were not such as to enable me to offer any competent account. Like the other Hindu-Chinese nations, the Burmans have two languages and two alphabets ; the one vernacular, and the other foreign. The native Burman alphabet, which is the same, or nearly so, as that of Aracan and Pegu, follows the classification of the Hindu alphabets, and is arranged into gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals, labials, and liquids. The number of vowel characters is eleven, and of consonant thirty-three : several of both,

however, differ essentially in pronunciation from the usual sounds of the Dewa-nagari, as will be seen by the explanation which accompanies the annexed plate. The Burman character, which consists, for the most part, of circles and segments of circles, has the advantage of simplicity, and of being readily acquired and written. In this respect it has, to a foreigner, an obvious advantage over most of the written characters of Western Asia. My friend, Mr. Judson, wrote it with more neatness and facility than almost any Burman, and several other European gentlemen also wrote it with fluency. The reverse of this is known to be the case with the written characters of Western Asia, especially with the Persian, which scarcely any European ever writes with elegance or propriety, or, indeed, attempts to write at all. So great is the difficulty with this last character, that the faculty of writing it with elegance is so overrated by the natives themselves, that they are too apt to confound good penmanship with fine writing. It must be observed, at the same time, with respect to the Burman alphabet, that it is less suited to its purpose than most others derived from the same source; for many of the characters, although written, are often mute, while combinations of others are arbitrary sounds not contained in their elements. This occasions a difficulty in reading, or rather in learning to read, for it must at the same time be admitted that the



arbitrary sounds in question are uniform and reduced to a system.

The structure of the Burmese language, like that of all others of the same class, is strikingly simple. All the words not derived from the Pali are monosyllables, and even the polysyllabic words derived from this last source are pronounced as if each syllable of them were a distinct word. This character of the language, with the frequency of guttural, sibilant and nasal sounds, makes it appear, to a stranger at least, monotonous and unmusical. There is no inflexion of any part of speech. Relation, number, mode, and time, are all formed by prefixing or affixing certain particles. There exist, in this language, roots which may be converted into nouns, into verbs, or into adjectives, by a similar simple contrivance. As to Burman syntax, the words follow each other in their natural order, an arrangement indispensably necessary to a dialect so inartificial. The oral language is of course still more simple than the written, the affixed particles being often omitted, so that the mere skeleton of a sentence only is presented to the hearer—the speaker, as it may be conjectured, rather hinting at his meaning, than expressing it fully and distinctly, as in more perfect languages.

The Pali alphabet, as it is written by the Burmans, is essentially the same as that of other Buddhist nations; but in form differs considerably,

being more square at least than that used by the Siamese and Kambojans. It is not often used by the Burmese, even in their religious writings, for which they have recourse to their vernacular alphabet. There is but one short work indeed, as I understand, in which it is used, and this is commonly written on thin plates of ivory, or varnished palm-leaves.

Of the character of Burman literature, I can only speak from report. The greater part of it is metrical, and consists of songs, religious romances, and chronological histories. Versions of some of the first of these were made for me; but the spirit, if there really was any, in the original, so completely evaporated in translation, as hardly to leave the germ of thought or sentiment behind it. The *Wutús*, or religious romances, appear to be compositions of a more respectable order; and Mr. Judson, who had read many of them, assured me that a few were works of considerable interest and merit. A native of Mon-cha-bo, or Mok-so-bo, the birthplace of Alompra, he stated to me, if I remember well, to have been the author of the best of them. This Burmese writer had not been dead above forty years—a proof that Burmese literature is at least in no worse state than in former ages. Of the historical compositions of the Burmese I shall speak in another place. Before closing this brief notice of the language and literature of the Burmese, I should add that the language may



now be easily acquired by Europeans, from our possession of a copious dictionary and valuable grammar of it, compiled by Mr. Judson, of which an edition has been printed with the native character annexed, at the missionary press at Serampore.

The Budd'hist religion, as it exists amongst the Burmans, does not appear, in any essential respect, to differ from the same worship as practised in Ceylon, Siam, and Kamboja. Its doctrines, the institution of the priesthood, and the external forms of devotion, appear to be the same. The following sketch of Burmese cosmography, drawn from the writings or conversations of the Burmese themselves, was furnished to me by Mr. Judson, and I may safely add that its accuracy may be depended on.

“A life period, called A-yen-kat, is a revolution of time, during which the life of man gradually advances from ten years to an A-then-kye, and returns to ten. Sixty-four life periods make one *intermediate period* (An-ta-ra-kat); sixty-four intermediate periods, make one *quarterly period*, which may be so termed, because four of such periods make one grand period (Ma-ha-kat), or complete revolution of nature. The revolutions of nature, as marked by the various periods, are eternal or infinite. Some grand periods are distinguished by the “developement” of an extraordinary being called “a Budd’ha,” who, though born of earthly parents, attains the summit of

“omniscience.”\* The present “grand period” has been favoured by four of these personages, whose names are Kan-kri-than, Gau-na-gong, Ka-tha-pa, and Gau-ta-ma. The fifth Budd’ha, or A-ri-mi-te-ya, is now reposing, according to the best authorities, in one of the lower celestial regions, and will develope himself in due time.

“The communications of all Budd’has previous to Gau-ta-ma are now lost. His communications, made at first to his immediate disciples, and by them retained in memory during five centuries more;—after his decease, agreed upon in several successive general councils, (Then-ga-ya-na) and, finally reduced to writing on palm-leaves, in the island of Ceylon, in the ninety-fourth year before Christ, and the four hundred and fiftieth after Gautama, form the present Budd’hist Scriptures, the only rule of faith and practice. They are comprised in three grand divisions (Pe-ta-kat), which are again subdivided into fifteen, and those into six hundred.

“According to the Budd’hist Scriptures, the universe is composed of an infinite number of worlds, or Sakya systems. A Sakya system consists of one central Myen-mo, or mount, the surrounding seas and islands, the celestial regions, including the revolving luminaries, and the infernal regions. The earth on which we live is the south-

\* “Omniscience” is, according to the Budd’hists, the principal attribute of Gautama.



ernmost of the four grand islands which surround the mount, each of which is again surrounded by four hundred of smaller size.

“The celestial regions consist of six inferior and twenty superior heavens. Of the six inferior heavens, the first occupies the middle, and the second the summit of the Myen-mo mount. The remaining four rise above each other in regular gradation. The same remark applies to the superior heavens, which are again distinguished into the sixteen visible and the four invisible. The infernal regions consist of eight hills, one above another, each being surrounded by sixteen smaller hills.

“The universe is replete with an infinity of souls, which have been transmigrating in different bodies from all eternity; ascent or descent in the scale of existence, being at every change of state ascertained by the “immutably mysterious laws of fate,” according to the merit or demerit of the individual. No being is exempt from sickness, old age, and death. Instability, pain, and change, are the three grand characteristics of all existence.

“However highly exalted in the celestial regions, and whatever number of ages of happiness may roll on,” say the Burmans, “the fatal symptom of a moisture under the arm-pits will at length display itself.” The mortal being, when this presents itself, must be prepared to exchange

the blandishments and dalliance of celestial beauties, for the gridirons, pitchforks, mallets, and other instruments of torture of the infernal regions. The chief end of man, according to the Burmese, is to terminate the fatiguing course of transmigratory existence. This attainment the Lord Gautama made in the eightieth year of his life, and all his immediate disciples have participated in the same happy fate. What remains to the present race of beings is to aim at passing their time in the regions of men and gods, until they shall come in contact with the next Budd'ha, the Lord Arimateya, whom they may hope to accompany to the Golden World of Nib-ban, or annihilation. In order to this, it is necessary to keep the commands of the last Budd'ha, to worship the Budd'ha, his law, and his priests; to refrain from taking life, from stealing, from adultery, from falsehood, and from drinking intoxicating liquors; to regard the images and temples of the Budd'ha the same as himself; to perform acts of worship, and listen to the instructions of religion on the days of the new moon, the full moon, and the quarters; to make offerings for the support of the priests, to assist at funerals, and in general to perform all charitable and religious duties.

“ In the year 930, after Gautama, A.D. 386, Bud-d'ha-gautha transcribed the Budd'hist Scriptures with an iron pen of celestial workmanship,



and brought them by sea to Pagan, the seat of supreme Government. The time and manner in which the religion of Gautama was introduced into the country are not sufficiently ascertained. It subsequently underwent some modification, and was finally established in its present form by King Anan-ra-t'ha-men-sau, who began to reign in Pagan in the 1541st year after Gautama, the 359th of the present vulgar era, and A.D. 997."

In my account of Siam, I stated that I had not heard in that country of any heresy, or of the existence of any religious opinions above the level of the vulgar superstition. This is not the case in Ava. Of late years several individuals in this country have broached heretical doctrines,—attempted to reform the popular worship, and gained a considerable number of followers. The *absolutism* of the Government, however, has generally silenced these schismatics, or at least prevented any overt expression of their opinions. A few years ago, one of the leading reformers was sent for to Ava, and not being able to render a satisfactory account of his doctrines, suffered decapitation. I do not understand that the propagation of a new religion was the object of any of these parties, but simply a reform of the old one. The reformers were generally, or I believe always, laymen. They principally decried the luxury of the priesthood, and ridiculed the idea of attaching religious merit to the building of temples, or, as

they described it with some justice, “heaping together unmeaning masses of brick and mortar.” The most noted of the Burmese sectaries are known by the name of Kolans. I do not know what their particular tenets are, but their doctrines have been repeatedly proscribed, and some of themselves put to death. The spirit of persecution in Ava, however, is rather political than religious. Innovation of any kind is considered dangerous to the State; and the “Lord of life and property” cannot endure that any subject should have the presumption to differ with him in opinion.

Among the Burmese, neither the Christian nor Mohammedan religions have made any progress. These forms of worship have the amplest toleration as far as strangers are concerned; but any attempt to convert the natives soon creates insuperable difficulties, chiefly because it is viewed in the light of withdrawing them from their allegiance.\* The American missionaries, of late

\* The following passage from the journal of Mr. Judson’s mission in 1823 affords a striking illustration of the sentiments of the Burman Government and priesthood on the subject of religious conversion. It is to be observed, that the tolerant chief here alluded to had been long accustomed to an intercourse with Europeans. He was the same person who was Viceroy of Rangoon during the mission of Colonel Symes. “The most important event (and that relates, of course, to Moungh Shwaygnong) remains to be mentioned. It will be remembered that he was accused before the former Viceroy of being a heretic, and that the simple reply “inquire farther” spread dismay among us



years, attempted the propagation of Christianity amongst the Burmans; and although they brought to their task a share of zeal, information, and sound judgment, which has rarely been equalled in such undertakings, and from which better hopes might have been entertained, their project failed of success. The result of this experiment, however, would seem satisfactorily to show, that bigotry, on the part of the lower orders, seems to afford little obstacle to their adoption of a new religion. Mr. Judson and his companions have now established themselves within the British possessions at Martaban, where a fair field is open to them for bestowing moral and religious instruction upon a people who certainly stand much in need of both, and are not without capacity to receive them.

all, and was one occasion of our visit to Ava. Soon after Mya-day-men assumed the Government of this province, all the priests and officers of the village where Moungh Shway-gnong lives, entered into a conspiracy to destroy him. They held daily consultations, and assumed a tone of triumph, while poor Moungh Shway-gnong's courage began to flag; and though he does not like to own it, he thought he must fly for his life. At length, one of the conspiracy, a member of the Supreme Court, went into the presence of the Viceroy, and in order to sound his disposition, complained that the teacher Moungh Shway-gnong was making every endeavour to turn the priests' rice-pot bottom upwards. "*What consequence?*" said the Viceroy; "*Let the priests turn it back again.*" This sentence was enough; the hopes of the conspiracy were blasted, and all the disciples felt that they were sure of toleration under Mya-day-men. But this administration will not continue probably many months."

As connected with the subject of religion, and forming indeed a material part of it, I may refer for a moment to what is peculiar in the funerals of the Burmese, as far as they have not been described in the JOURNAL. In Siam, the practice of enbowelling the dead, and preserving the body embalmed, for an extravagantly long period before it is consumed on the funeral pile, is followed in regard to laymen of rank as well as to the priesthood. In Ava it is confined to the latter. The funeral pile in this case is a car on wheels; and the body is blown away, from a huge wooden cannon or mortar, with the purpose, I believe, of conveying the soul more rapidly to heaven! Immense crowds are collected on occasions of these funerals, which, far from being conducted with mourning or solemnity, are occasions of rude mirth and boisterous rejoicing. Ropes are attached to each extremity of the car, and pulled in opposite directions by adverse parties; one of these being for consuming the body, the other for opposing it. The latter are at length overcome, fire is set to the pile amidst loud acclamations, and the ceremony is consummated.



## CHAPTER V.

Orders of Society. — Nobility. — Priesthood. — Privileged Merchants. — Free Labourers. — Bond Creditors and Slaves. — Outcasts. — Form of Government. — Councils of State. — Municipal Administration. — Administration of Justice. — Character of. — Expenses attending. — Written Laws. — Military Forces. — System of Taxation. — Condition of Landed Tenures. — House Tax. — Family or Poll-tax on the Karyens and other wild races. — Tax on Fisheries. — Eggs of the Green Turtle and esculent Swallows' Nests. — Duty on Petroleum, or Earth-oil. — Gold, Silver, and Sapphire Mines. — Teak Forests. — Duties of Customs. — Tax on the Currency. — Tax on the Wages of Labour. — Tax on the Administration of Justice, Fines, and Forfeitures. — Offerings of Tributary Princes and Public Officers. — General Observations. — Estimate of the Amount of the Royal Revenue.

IN this chapter I shall endeavour to give a sketch of the state of society amongst the Burmese, of their political institutions, of their laws, fiscal system, and revenue.

Among the Burmese, and the same observation nearly applies to the Talains, there may be described to exist seven classes of society, distinguished by their privileges or employments; namely, the royal family, the public officers, the priest-

hood, the merchants, or “rich men” as they are called, the cultivators and labourers, slaves, and outcasts. The only class of public officers which can be called hereditary under the Burmese Government, are the *Thaubwas*, or *Saubwas*,\* the tributary princes of the subjugated countries. The rest, of the chief officers, at least, are appointed and dismissed at a nod, and neither their titles, rank, nor offices, and very often not even their property, can descend to their children. Any subject of the Burmese Government, short of a slave or outcast, may aspire to the first office in the state, and such offices, in reality, are often held by persons of very mean origin. With every new promotion in office, a new title is commonly conferred, and without office there is seldom any title.

The priests (*P’hun-gyi* or *Ra-han*) bound to a rigid celibacy, interdicted from all employment but their own especial calling, and particularly from intermeddling in politics; but secured from the necessity of labour by the voluntary contributions of the rest of the society; form an important and comparatively numerous class. In the districts comprehending the capital, I was told at Ava that there were twenty thousand priests, of whom six

\* I have reason to believe that this word is a Burmese corruption of the Siamese, and, which is the same thing, of the Shan or Lao title “*Chau-pya*,” which is the usual designation given by the Siamese to the princes tributary to them.



thousand resided in the town of Ava Proper,—a fact ascertained on the occasion of largesses being made to them, when an account must of necessity be taken of their numbers. Along with the priests may be classed the nuns, or priestesses, known in the Burman language by the name of Thi-lashen. These, although far less numerous than the priests, appear to me to be a good deal more frequent than in Siam. The greater part of them are old women; but there are also some young ones, who, however, forsake the sisterhood as soon as they can procure husbands. The Burmese nuns shave the head, and wear a garment of a particular form, generally of a white colour, and never yellow, which they have no more right to than the laity. They live in humble dwellings close to the monasteries, and make a vow of chastity as long as they continue in the sisterhood; but they may quit it whenever they please. Any breach of this vow is punished by their secular chief. The profession of a nun is not much respected by the people, and in general may be looked upon as little better than a more reputable mode of begging. A P'hun-gyi, or priest, never begs; he only “expects charity.” The nuns, on the contrary, go about begging from house to house, and are to be seen in the public markets openly asking for alms. There are, however, a few of a more respectable class, commonly, I was told, widows, who enter the sisterhood from sincere religious motives. These

have commonly funds of their own, or are maintained at the expense of their relatives.

The priests, as well as the nuns, are under the government of a secular officer of some rank, called the Wut-myo-wun, who settles such disputes and quarrels as may arise between them, for quarrels do occur now and then among these pious persons, notwithstanding their seclusion and abstraction from the common business of the world.

When a merchant acquires considerable property, he is registered by a royal edict, under the name of a Thuthé or "rich man," which is a kind of title that places him under the protection of the Court, and subject only to regular and periodical extortion. This title is frequently, or generally hereditary; so that among those nominated Thuthé or "rich men," are often to be found some that are exceedingly poor. They are very convenient for the Court and public officers. They make presents to the King at public festivals, in the same manner that the officers of Government do, as will be seen in the account of our presentation at Court; and the princes and chief officers of state, on the plea of peculiar protection, borrow money from them, which they never repay. It would appear that the favours of the Court are not always considered such by this privileged order. Near our residence at Sagaing there resided an individual of this class, who frequently came to see us. Shortly before our visit, his daughter and



only child had been invited into the palace to receive education and instruction : to escape the royal invitation, he had paid a fine of 1000 ticals !

The free labouring population, or great mass of the people, if they can be called free, consist, where the soil is worth appropriating, of proprietors and common labourers, the great majority being of the latter class. Every Burman is considered the King's slave and a species of property, and his services, in whatever manner they can be made available, are at all times at the disposal of the Government, whether as soldiers, artisans, or common labourers. No Burman can consequently quit the country without express permission, and that permission is never granted but for a limited time and purpose. Women are never allowed to quit it at all ; and heretofore, the utmost difficulty, overcome only by heavy *douceurs*, existed even to the female children of strangers being permitted to quit it. The scantiness of the population, and the consequent high price of labour, have no doubt conduced to this extraordinary rigour and rapacity on the part of the Government. Were it possible to suppose the existence under the Burmese Government of so dense a population, and so low a price of labour as in China, there would, at once, be an end to the greater number of these odious and impolitic restraints. Although the King of Ava claims a right in the services of all his subjects, no specific period, as in

Siam, seems to be allotted for the performance of these services. When services or contributions are wanted, the Lut-d'hau issues a royal decree to the inferior officers in the provinces as occasion requires, and without any systematic or established arrangement.

Of slaves there are two classes, slave debtors and hereditary slaves ; the first being, I believe, by far the most numerous : these consist of persons who mortgage their services for a debt, and who are considered a kind of slaves until the debt be liquidated. In this case, children are bound for the debts of their parents ; and the master, if he think proper to insist upon it, has a right to value the rearing of every child of such bondsman at the rate of twenty-five ticals. It is not, however, I am told, the custom to exact this condition. It is an invidious right, which it would be unpopular to exercise ; so that it would appear, that even in this state of society, public opinion exercises some little sway. The services of the party mortgaging them are considered to be an equivalent for the interests of the debt, and whatever their value or nature, never go towards the liquidation of the principal. Over a slave of this description, the master has the power of inflicting corporal punishment to enforce service or labour, provided that punishment be not carried the length of “drawing blood,”—a matter which the Burmans hold in great horror, without their having at the same time any



particular aversion to cruelty. If blood be drawn in inflicting punishment, the master is liable to fine or other penalty according to circumstances ; but the debt is not considered as cancelled. If the bond-debtor be a female, and the debt equal or exceed twenty-five ticals, the master is considered to have a right to use her as a concubine. If it be under the amount now specified, and the master forcibly cohabit with her, the debt is considered as cancelled. If the female bonds-woman bear her master a male child, she is entitled to her freedom, or, what is the same thing, the debt is considered as cancelled. Slave debtors may be sold from one master to another, without their consent, or, in other words, the mortgage is transferable like any other property. The original debt once liquidated, the slave-debtor is considered a freeman, and the rights of the master cease.

The hereditary class of slaves consists generally of prisoners of war, either presented to the captors by royal authority, or purchased in the market when they are disposed of, commonly at very trifling prices, by public sale. From all I could understand, the number of these is very trifling, as it seems to be the practice to convert them into bond-debtors. Even when they ransom themselves, however, they are considered to be Burman subjects, and consequently prohibited from leaving the country. At present a large propor-

tion of the population of Ava and Amarapura consists of captives from Cassay, Cachar, and Assam, or their descendants, and the greater number are either slave-debtors or as free as the rest of the inhabitants. Prisoners of war, upon the whole, seem to be much better treated by the Burmese than by the Siamese. In Ava we neither saw nor heard of any who were condemned to work in chains, as we did in Siam.

The law in respect to slaves is fully detailed in the Burmese code; and in the case of slave debtors, regularly written bonds are always drawn up, attested by and always made under the authority of some public officer. All this constitutes a slave code, which is not very harsh or rigorous. The common slavery and humble equality of the great mass of the people, contribute, no doubt, to its mildness.

The class of outcasts has been described in my Journal. It consists of the following descriptions of persons, whose condition, however, differs very considerably:—the slaves of the pagodas—the burners of the dead—the gaolers and executioners—lepers and other incurables—maimed and mutilated persons—and prostitutes. These all labour, more or less, under civil disabilities, and, what is closely allied to it in this country, religious interdicts. The condition of the slaves of the pagodas has already been described; they are known to the Burmans under the name of Kywan-thi-d'hau or



Athan-d'hau. Persons mutilated by the sentence of the law are condemned to the same condition as lepers. All the parties now alluded to, with the exception, I believe, of those accidentally maimed or mutilated, are forbidden to dwell in the towns and villages, and must reside apart in the suburbs or outskirts, nor must they even enter the house of those deemed "respectable and uncontaminated." Among them are included prostitutes, that is to say, persons who follow prostitution as a trade; but not women of loose character, for chastity is not a virtue in high repute amongst the Burmans. Prostitutes who relinquish their profession are considered "honest women," and are received at once into society upon renouncing their evil habits.

The Government of Ava is as complete a despotism as can well be conceived, and labours under all the disadvantages which can well be imagined of such a form of polity. The King, as he is called, in his customary titles, is lord of the life and property of all his subjects. The country and people are at his entire disposal, and the chief object of Government would seem to be his personal honour and aggrandisement. In fact, he pushes his prerogative in practice to the utmost length that is compatible with the personal safety of himself and his ministers.\* The goodness or

\* The workman who built the present palace committed some professional mistake in the construction of the spire. The King

badness of the administration is influenced in a small degree by the personal character of the reigning prince, but the only effectual check on the excesses of maladministration is the apprehension of insurrection.

The form of the Burman administration may be shortly described. In this Government there is no Vizier or Prime Minister; but the King has two councils, a public and a privy one, through which the royal orders are issued. The first of these is the highest in rank, and is commonly called the Lut-d'hau, or, more correctly written, the Lwat-d'hau, from the name of the hall in which its business is transacted. The officers who compose it are commonly four in number; but occasionally one or two more of the same rank are added, when it is necessary to depute, for distant service, persons of this dignity, as was the case during our visit, when the Viceroy of Pegu had this rank. These officers are named Wun-gyi, more correctly written Wun-kri. The word Wun, as formerly explained, means a burthen; but in

remonstrated with him, saying that it would not stand. The architect pertinaciously insisted upon its stability and sufficiency, and was committed to prison for contumacy. Shortly afterwards the spire fell in a thunder-storm, and about the same time accounts were received at Court of the arrival of the British expedition; upon which the architect was sent for from prison, taken to the place of execution, and forthwith decapitated. This, although upon a small scale, is a fair example both of the despotism and superstition by which this people are borne down.



this vague and loosely constructed language it is also applied to the "bearer of a burthen." Figuratively, it means the bearer or holder of an office, and is a generic term, restricted to some officers of the highest rank, such as the governors of provinces, public ministers, &c. The word *kri*, pronounced *gyi*, is the adjective great; and hence *Wun-gyi* means "the bearer of the great burthen," or a first minister. All public matters are discussed by the *Wun-gyis*, and the decision is by a majority of voices. They exercise not only legislative and executive functions, but judicial ones. Each member also, at his own dwelling, decides upon private business. This is principally judicial, and he may exercise either primary or appellate jurisdiction; there being, however, an appeal from his decision to the council collectively. Every royal edict requires by law, or rather by usage, the sanction of this council: indeed the King's name never appears in any edict or proclamation, the acts of the *Lut-d'hau* being, in fact, considered his acts. This council has the further privilege of requesting the King's personal presence at their deliberations. For his Majesty's accommodation on such occasions, there is a throne in its hall, and a private door leading to the apartments of the palace for him to enter by.

Each of the four *Wun-gyis* has his deputy, and these are also officers of high rank. The title of their office is *Wun-dauk*, or more correctly, *Wun-*

tauk. The last syllable of this word means literally a "prop." The Wun-dauks, although they sit in council, do not deliberate or vote. Whatever business they transact is in the name of their superiors, but in this capacity they do a great deal. The Wun-dauks have their assistants, called Saré-d'hau-gyi, literally "great royal scribes." They are from eight to ten in number. These are, in fact, the secretaries of the Lut-d'hau, and their business is to record its proceedings.

The second council, like the first, consists generally of four officers. The title of these is Atwen-wun, or more correctly Atweng-wun. The last syllable of this word is already explained: the other means inside, or interior. These officers constitute the private advisers of the King. Whatever emanates directly from the King is first discussed in the privy council, and then transmitted to the Lut-d'hau. It deliberates and votes on the same principle as the superior council, and, like the latter, its members, both collectively and individually, exercise judicial functions. From the frequent access of the Atwen-wuns to the King's person, it often happens that they possess more real power than the Wun-gyis themselves. It is still a disputed point at the Court of Ava, whether the rank of Atwen-wun or Wun-dauk be the highest.

Attached to the privy council are secretaries, commonly thirty in number. These are named



Than-d'hau-thans, commonly pronounced Than-d'hau-sens. They stand in the same relation to the Atwen-wuns that the Wun-dauks do to the Wun-gyis. Their business is to record the proceedings of the council, to take minutes of the King's verbal commands, and to read and report upon petitions. Attached to the two councils are four or five officers, called Na-kan-d'hau. The business of these is to convey messages between the two councils; and it is expected that one or more of them should always attend the Lut-d'hau, in order to report to the King, from time to time, what is going forward there. Upon that council, therefore, they are a kind of authorized spies; and their name, which may be translated "deputies of the Royal Sar," would seem to imply this.

The municipal or provincial administration may be described as follows: The country is divided into provinces of very unequal size—these into townships, the townships into districts, and the districts into villages or hamlets, of which the number in each is indefinite. In the Burmese institutions, it may be remarked that there is nothing bearing any semblance to an ecclesiastical subdivision. Such an arrangement, indeed, could not well exist where the priesthood are excluded from the exercise of all temporal authority, and where their duties are expressly of an abstract and spiritual nature. The word Myo, which literally means a fortified town, is that which is applied

both to a province and a township; for there is no word to distinguish them. The province is, in fact, an aggregate of townships; and each particular one derives its name from the principal town within its boundary, being the residence of the Governor. The district or subdivision of the township, in like manner, takes its name from the principal village within it. This arrangement somewhat resembles that which prevails in China, although much ruder. The governor of a province is called Myo-wun, and is vested with the entire charge of the province, civil, judicial, military, and fiscal. The following is an example of the officers serving under the Myo-wun, taken for the large and maritime province of Han-thawati, or Pegu. The next officer in rank to the Myo-wun or his deputy, is called Re-wun, literally the "water chief," which some of our writers, with more complaisance than accuracy, have translated "admiral." The third provincial officer is the Ak'hwon-wun, or collector of taxes; and the fourth, the Akaok-wun, or collector of customs. The officers more especially engaged in the administration of justice, and the conservation of the peace, will be described in another place. The inferior officers now named, act as a council to the Myo-wun, without whose previous assent, however, no order of any consequence can be executed. The Myo-wun commonly exercises the power of life and death; but in civil cases, an ap-



peal lies from his authority to the chief council at the capital. The number of the principal officers in Pegu, was as I have now described ; but it often happened, that the Government, desirous of extending its patronage, doubled, or even tripled, the number of officers under the Myo-wun. Shortly before its conquest by the British, there were, for example, two Re-wuns, and two Ak'h-won-wuns. The office of Re-wun, and generally that of collector of customs, existed only in the maritime provinces. All the public business of the province is transacted in an open hall called a Rung, with the epithet d'hau, or royal.

The government of the townships is entrusted to an officer named a Myo-thu-gyi. These words, commonly pronounced by us and by the Mohammedans Myo-su-gi, may be interpreted “chief of the township ;” for the word “thu” means head, or head-man : the others have been already explained. The districts and villages were administered by their own chiefs, named Thu-gyis ; in the latter instance, the word “rua,” pronounced “yua,” a village or hamlet, being prefixed. These were all respectively subordinate to each other.

No public officer under the Burmese Government ever receives any fixed money-salary. The principal officers are rewarded by assignments of land, or, more correctly, by an assignment of the labour and industry of a given portion of the inhabitants ; and the inferior ones by fees, perqui-

sites, and irregular emoluments, as will be afterwards explained. Extortion and bribery are common to the whole class.

The executive and judicial functions are so much blended in the Burmese form of administration, that the establishments peculiarly belonging to the latter are not very numerous. At the capital there is a judicial officer of high rank, called the *Ta-ra-ma-thu-gyi* :\* the principal administration of justice, at the capital, at least, appears in former times to have been conducted by this officer, but he seems now to have been deprived of the greater part of it by the encroachments of the two executive councils. The inducements to this, of course, were the profits and influence which the members of these bodies derived from the administration of justice. The three towns, with their districts, composing the capital, have each their *Myo-wun*, or governor, and these are assisted in the municipal administration of their respective jurisdictions by officers named *Myo-charé*, commonly pronounced *Myo-sayé*, meaning “town scribe.” They are in reality, however, a sort of head constables, and well known as such to all strangers as the busy, corrupt, and mischievous agents of the local authorities. The palace, from its peculiar importance in Burman estimation, has its own distinct governors, no less than

\* In the Siamese Government there is an officer of the same name, although pronounced somewhat differently.



four in number, one to each gate; their name, or title, is Wen-m'hu; they have the reputation of having under their authority each a thousand men. In the municipal or provincial courts, there is an officer called the Chit-kai, or Sitkai, who is a kind of sheriff, or principal conservator of the peace; and, in imitation of the councils at the capital, an officer named Na-kan-d'hau, who discharges the office of public informer. Most of the Burman officers in the provinces, down to the Rua-thu-gyi, or chief of a village, have assessors of their own nomination, called Kung, who take the drudgery off the hands of their chiefs, leaving the decision to the latter. A Myo, or town, it should be observed, is divided into wards, or Ayats, each of which is under the direction of an inferior police-officer, called the Ayat-gaong. The most intelligent and active officers connected with the administration of justice are the She-nés, or pleaders. These persons are described as being tolerably well acquainted with the law and its forms, and occasionally useful and industrious. To each court and public officer there are attached a competent number of Na-lains, or messengers; and annexed to the principal courts is always to be found the T'haong-m'hu, or executioner, with his band of branded ruffians.

The Myo-thu-gyis and Rua-thu-gyis, or chiefs of townships, districts, and villages, exercise a limited judicial authority within their respective

jurisdictions, and are answerable for the conservation of the peace. Appeals, in most instances, lie from their authority to that of the provincial officers. In civil cases these inferior officers try all causes subject to appeal; but in criminal ones their authority is limited to inflicting a few strokes of a ratan, and they can neither imprison nor fetter. In all cases of any aggravation it was their duty to transmit the offender to the T'haong-m'hu, sheriff, or executioner of the provincial town. The authority of the chief of the township was, of course, somewhat more extended than that of the district or village; and it rested with him to hear and decide upon causes, where the parties belonged to different districts or villages. When the chief of towns or villages failed to produce offenders under accusation, they were made to answer the accusation in their own persons at the provincial courts.

Burman prisons are miserable places in point of accommodation, and as insecure as they are inconvenient: their insecurity gives rise to the necessity of every prisoner being put into the stocks. Witnesses are examined on oath, in extraordinary cases only: a translation of its form will be found in the APPENDIX. In important cases, torture is applied both to principals and witnesses, and the gaolers have frequent recourse to a modification of it, for the purpose of extorting money from their prisoners. The English and American pri-



soners at Ava during the war saw repeated examples of this during their confinement, and even experienced it in their own persons. They had repeatedly paid fines to the principal gaoler in order to procure milder treatment; but as there seemed to be no end to his exactions, they determined, at length, to resist any further demands. They were all in the same stocks, a long wooden frame connected with the roof of the prison at each extremity by ropes. One day, shortly after their refusal to make further payment, they found the stocks, with their lower limbs in them, gradually rising, until at length it left them forming an angle of about forty-five degrees with the ground, on which their heads and shoulders alone rested. After being suspended for an hour or two in this disagreeable predicament, nothing remained for them but to pay the old extortioner an additional bribe, which was done through their friends or relatives. Like other semi-barbarous people, the Burmans have occasional recourse to the trial by ordeal. The accuser and accused are commonly required, in such a case, to dip the point of the fore-finger of the right-hand into melted lead or tin. At the end of three days, the finger which had been thus immersed is punctured with a needle, when innocence is determined by blood flowing from the wound—guilt by the flow of an ichor or watery fluid! A good deal will depend, no doubt, in such a case, upon the disposition of

the operator; and this, again, will probably be guided by the passions and partialities of the judges.

The final termination of a suit is confirmed by the litigants being made to eat pickled tea, the usual solemnity observed in all contracts and engagements.

The Burman punishments are severe and cruel. The lowest in the scale is imprisonment and fetters; the number of the latter varying, according to circumstances, from one pair up to nine. Then follow mulcts, flogging, mutilation, condemnation to the perpetual slavery of the temples, and various forms of death, more or less cruel, according to circumstances. Decapitation is one of the most frequent of these; but embowelling is also not uncommon. Drowning, burying alive, and throwing to wild beasts, are occasionally had recourse to. I shall give one or two authentic examples of these punishments. On the 26th of January 1817, four persons were executed at Rangoon for robbing temples. Their abdomens were laid open; huge gashes were cut in their sides and limbs, laying bare the bones; and one individual, whose crime was deemed of a more aggravated nature than that of the rest, had a stake driven through his chest. The gentleman who related this to me was present at the execution. Another European gentleman, who had resided many years in Rangoon, informed me, that for the same offence of



sacrilege, he saw seven persons put to death at once. They were tied to stakes on the banks of the Irawadi at low water, and left to be drowned by the returning tide, which did not do its work for four hours. The Burmans commonly suffer death with the intrepidity or indifference of other Asiatic people. One gentleman told me that he had seen a deserter eat a banana with his bowels out, after the executioner had performed more than half his task; and another, also an eye-witness, stated that a woman condemned for murder to be thrown to a tiger, deliberately crept into the cage, made the savage a shiko, or obeisance, was killed by a single blow of the animal's fore-foot, and immediately dragged by him into the recess of his den. It must however be observed, that the Burmese seldom condemn women to death. "The sword," they say, "was not made for woman." Gang robbery, desertion from the King's service, sacrilege, that is to say, robbing temples, and sedition or treason, are considered the most heinous offences. The number of executions in the Myo-wunship of Rangoon, or Han-tha-wati, used to be from twenty-five to thirty a-year. From the extreme corruption of the Burmese officers, however, there was hardly an offence which might not be expiated by those who could afford to pay a pecuniary penalty, except perhaps treason, and now and then sacrilege. Even when the culprit could not purchase entire immunity, money

would procure him a mitigation or commutation of punishment. In ordinary cases, such as whipping and fetters, the degree of punishment depended much more upon the amount paid to the executioner than upon the sentence of the court. Except in very extraordinary cases, therefore, the poor alone were sacrificed.

From the constitution of the Burmese courts, as I have described them, the administration of justice must necessarily be both corrupt and vexatious. The judges take bribes from both sides, and the decree, unless in very palpable cases indeed, will be in favour of him who pays the highest. Both the judges and ministerial officers either subsist altogether, or gain a principal part of their emolument, from litigation, and therefore do all in their power to promote it. No prudent person, therefore, enters into a lawsuit; and “putting a man into justice,” as the phrase is, is considered to be equivalent to inflicting upon him the most serious calamity. I may mention one or two authentic cases in illustration. In 1817, an old Burmese woman, in the service of an European gentleman, was cited before the Rung-d’hau, or court of justice of Rangoon. Her master appeared on her behalf, and was informed that her offence consisted in having neglected to report a theft committed upon herself three years before, by which the government officers were defrauded of the fees and profits which ought to have accrued from the



investigation or trial. On receiving this information, he was about to retire in order to make arrangements to exonerate her, when he was seized by two messengers of the court, and informed, that by appearing in the business he had rendered himself responsible, and could not be released unless some other individual were left in pledge for him, until the old woman's person were produced. A Burman lad, his servant, who accompanied him, was accordingly left in his room. In an hour he returned with the accused, and found that in the interval the lad left in pledge had been put into the stocks, his ankles squeezed in them, and by this means a little money which he had about his person, and a new handkerchief, extorted from him. The old woman was now put into the stocks in her turn, and detained there until all the regular fees incident to such a transaction were paid, when she was discharged without any investigation whatever into the theft.

On the 7th of February 1817, seven persons, found guilty of sacrilege, were conveyed to the place of execution near Rangoon, and secured in the usual way to the stake. The first of these, whom it was intended to execute, was fired at, four successive times, by a marksman, without being hit. At every shot there was a loud peal of laughter from the spectators. The malefactor was taken down, declared to be invulnerable, pardoned, and moreover taken into a confidential employ-

ment by the governor. It was afterwards ascertained that he had paid a large bribe. The second culprit was shot, and at the same moment the remaining five decapitated.

Of the regular expenses of justice, independent of bribes to judges, and fees to the pleaders, I give the following specimen, taken from a very able report on the province of Bassein, by Captain Alves, its civil superintendent, and made to myself when Commissioner in Pegu.

A Thu-gyi, or chief of a township or village, is held responsible for any robbery committed within his jurisdiction, if he cannot secure the robbers, or trace them to some other jurisdiction. In this case, he must not only make good the property taken, but pay the following charges on the amount: A charge of fifty in one hundred, called Kombo, one-half of which goes to the Myo-wun and members of the provincial court, and one-half to the King; a charge of ten in one hundred, called Ti-wun, one-half of which goes to the Myo-wun, and the other to the Queen's Minister; a charge of twenty-five in one hundred, which goes to the writers of the provincial court; and one of twelve and a half in one hundred, for the messengers of the court. Besides these, a sum of two ticals\* is paid to a person called the Aong-deng, and another of half a tical to a person called the Athao-bo; officers

\* The tical, alluded to in the following statement, contains ten in one hundred of alloy.



whose duty it is to purchase and administer the "pickled tea" necessary to the ceremony of closing the transaction.\*

In the case of abusive and provoking language, the following are the charges : fifteen ticals, as a mulct, to the person aggrieved ; seven and a half as Kombo ; one and a half as Ti-wun ; two ticals each for the scribes and messengers, and two and a half for pickled tea.†

In the case of assault where no blood is shed, the offender pays to the aggrieved party thirty ticals as damages ; he pays fifteen ticals in the name of Kombo, three in the name of Ti-wun, two ticals each to the writers and messengers of the court, and two and a half ticals for pickled tea, and its administrators.‡

In cases of adultery, the offender pays to the husband and public officers, exactly the same fine and fees as in a case of common assault where no blood is shed. If a party sue for a divorce, and is unable to substantiate the suite, he or she will pay the following charges :—ten ticals as Kombo ; two as Ti-wun ; and for writers, messengers, and pickled tea, as in other cases.§

If a person sue for a debt, and the justice of his claim be denied, he will pay, under the name of Kombo, twenty in one hundred on the amount of his claim ; four ticals as Ti-wun ; and for writers, messengers, and pickled tea, as in the other in-

\* Captain Alves' Report.    † Ibid.    ‡ Ibid.    § Ibid.

stances. This will be the case, whether the claim be ultimately substantiated or not.\*

In some parts of the country it happened occasionally, that when no evidence of a debt existed, the parties agreed to have recourse to the watery ordeal. The litigants were in this case immersed, and the person who continued longest under water gained his cause. The loser here paid the regular judicial charges ; but previous to immersion, each party had to pay the following bill :—thirty ticals in one hundred on the amount in dispute, in this case called *Ati* ; three in one hundred for a charm, consisting of a few cabalistic words, written on a palm-leaf, and suspended about the neck of the litigants ; one and a half in one hundred to the officers holding the ropes attached to the waists of the parties ; one and a half in one hundred to the persons who fasten the poles which the parties lay hold of in diving ; one and a half in one hundred to the persons who press the bamboo poles on the backs of the parties, to ensure their due immersion ; one and a half in one hundred to the person in charge of the timekeeper ; two and a half in one hundred to the chief under whose direction the ceremony is performed, and one in one hundred for messengers and tea.†

On the institution of any civil suit, the party began by paying one tical to the writers, and half a tical to the messengers. When an appeal was

\* Captain Alves' Report.

† Ibid.



made from any inferior court or judge to the Myo-wun, the following were the customary charges: five ticals for the court, from both plaintiff and defendant; two ticals from each of the writers; two ticals for the messengers; half a tical from each, for pickled tea; ten ticals from each party, as a personal present to the Myo-wun; seven ticals for this personage's chief scribe; and two to the particular scribe who wrote out his Excellency's decree.\*

The presentation of a petition to the Myo-wun, with the decision upon it, were commonly accompanied by the following charges:—a present of one vis of silver, or one hundred ticals; two ticals for his Excellency's head-writer, two for his messengers, one for the particular messenger that delivered the petition and procured a reply to it, and half a tical to the particular writer who copied that reply.†

There were separate and distinct charges on oaths. The following is a sample:—Administration of an oath with a sacred volume on the head, ten ticals; messenger who holds the book over the head, one tical; rest of the messengers, two ticals; writers, two ticals; and pickled tea employed in the ceremony, half a tical.

Messengers have particular fees for delivering summonses, measured by the distance: one tical was the fixed charge, if the person summoned

\* Captain Alves' Report.

† Ibid.

was within the Myo, or town: if beyond it, the charge was one additional tical, for every taing, or two miles, of land travelling; and at the rate of ten ticals for “every tide,” when the journey was by water.\*

Every thing connected with the administration of justice seems to be made a subject of extortion. The gaolers had their established fees and profits,—not only from robbers and murderers, but from persons imprisoned for debt, or for political offences, or on suspicion. From gang-robbers or murderers, for example, there was extorted, according to their supposed means, from one to five hundred ticals, with a fee of seven and a half ticals to the writer who took down their examination. This was for the officers of government; but the Taong-m’hu, or chief gaoler and executioner, also received a fee of five ticals; and the keeper of the stocks, two. If the prisoner was put in fetters, there was an additional charge of five ticals for the use of these.†

A debtor, committed to prison, had to pay to the gaoler ten ticals in one hundred upon the amount of his debt; and to the messengers, two in one hundred. If a suitor recovered a debt from a party imprisoned, he had to pay ten in one hundred on its amount to the gaoler. All these fees and emoluments were extorted from prisoners under penalty of starvation and bad usage.‡

\* Captain Alves’ Report.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.



The ordinary retaining fee of a Shené, or pleader, is five ticals ; but he receives also special fees at each stage of a legal process.\*

The Burmans have written laws, and from the few specimens I have seen of them, they appear in some respects not to be without merit. Their authority, however, is not appealed to in the courts ; and if they are read, it is only through curiosity. The following names of law-books were mentioned to me by Burmese of reputed learning :—the Shwemen, or golden prince ; the Menu, the Wandana, and the Damawilatha. From the name of Menu, here mentioned, it might be supposed that these codes were Hindu ; but judging from the specimens which I perused, I do not believe this is the case. If they were originally so, they have at all events been altered to such a degree, as to bear little resemblance to their alleged prototype. They are therefore either indigenous—borrowed from some country differently circumstanced from Hindostan ; or if borrowed from the latter, so altered, to suit a very different state of society from that of the Hindus, that there is at present very little resemblance. One of the best of the works now mentioned was under translation when I quitted India ; and might have been printed and published, did the Government promote the undertaking. Although a rude code of laws of this description be wholly inapplicable to the practical administra-

\* Captain Alves' Report.

tion of justice among any people living under a civilized government ; yet it must be useful in conveying such a knowledge of native institutions and manners, as cannot but prove extremely useful in the process of legislation.

Before concluding this account of the Burmese laws, I may once for all observe, that although the Burman Government be arbitrary, and the administration of justice expensive and vexatious, it is far from being efficient. The police is as bad as possible ; and it is notorious that, in all times of which we can speak with certainty, the country has been overrun with pirates and robbers. Responsibility is shifted from one person to another, and a general ignorance and want of intelligence pervades every department. It is a matter well known, however contrary to theory, that in consequence of this state of things, even a royal order will often fail of commanding respect or attention at the distance of five short miles from the seat of government.

Of the military force of the Burmese, I have little to add to what has already been stated in my Journal. There cannot be said to exist any distinction into civil and military classes ; nor is there even any distinction between civil and military employments. A treasurer and a judge are expected to perform military as well as civil functions ; and the Burmese army, in fact, consists of the whole male adult population of the country, or as much



of it as can be brought together by a forced conscription : it is a rabble, without any discipline or any military virtues ; formidable only to the petty tribes and nations of the neighbourhood, still less civilized than the Burmans themselves. There appears to be no systematic organized plan, as in Siam, for calling forth this conscription, and no fixed period for the services of the conscripts. These are brought together either for civil or military employments, through the agency of the officers already enumerated, by an order directed to them from the ministers of the Lut-d'hau, and as occasion may require. It either embraces the whole kingdom, or particular provinces, townships, and districts according to circumstances. When assembled for warlike purposes, the peasantry are generally under the same leaders as when dwelling in their own townships or districts. The troops have no regular pay, but are fed and armed at the public expense. The manners of the Burman peasantry are far from being warlike, as I have often repeated. Their habits on the contrary, are agricultural ; they live in comparative ease at home, and never make incursions into foreign countries, without exchanging a better state for a worse one, and subjecting themselves to dangers and privations, which are utterly uncongenial to their characters. Europeans of respectability, who were present at Rangoon when expeditions were sent against the island of Junk Ceylon, and

other portions of the Siamese coast, informed me that they had repeatedly seen the unwilling conscripts embarked in hundreds for that service, tied hands and legs, with as little ceremony as if they had been so many cattle. An army thus composed cannot long be kept together, and a defeat or difficulty is almost sure to disperse them. This accounts for the sudden disappearance of the numerous force which the Burmans brought against the British army in the earlier parts of the contest, and the scanty numbers afterwards opposed to us, although then, for the first time perhaps in Burman history, large bounties were given to the recruits. When the British army was, at length, within forty or forty-five miles of Ava, the Burmese force, which was to have contested its advance and protected the capital, does not appear to have exceeded one thousand men! The Burman peasantry, notwithstanding, are robust, active, hardy, docile, and capable of sustaining great privations; and with skilful and intrepid leaders, which their countrymen are not likely soon to furnish, would no doubt make very good soldiers. The common arms made use of by the Burmese are clumsy two-handed swords, named *Dás*, spears, match-locks, as many old European muskets as they can afford, rude pattereros of native manufacture, and a few old iron and brass cannon purchased from strangers, and consequently in no very good condition. Their gunpowder is of their own



manufacture, and, like all that is prepared by the nations of the East, without European direction, a very wretched compound. The only thing like military activity and skill displayed by the Burmese in their contest with us was in the construction of field-works. For these they generally made the best selection of ground, and they raised them with surprising celerity; but, after all, when finished, they were contemptible in execution; and never being defended with the resolution which other barbarous nations have displayed under the same circumstances, they opposed no serious obstacle to our troops. The Burmese, as far as I can understand, never have recourse to armour; on the contrary, they fight with their bodies nearly naked, and with dishevelled hair.

Cavalry does not appear, in former times, to have composed any portion of a genuine Burmese army. Since the conquest of Cassay, or Munnipore, however, the Burmese appear to have employed in their military expeditions a body of horse, composed of the inhabitants of that country. The horses employed in this service are small spirited ponies, wholly unfit, however, for the purposes of an useful cavalry, even of the lowest description, if compared with that of any other country. A troop or two of the Governor-General's native body guard, the only description of horse with the British army, was always more than sufficient to drive the largest body of them

from the field. And indeed, after one or two attempts, they never ventured to show themselves in the presence of that small but gallant and well-disciplined corps.

The fiscal system of the Burmese is characterised by the same rudeness and disorder as the rest of their institutions: indeed, I have little hesitation in saying that it is the most faulty and mischievous part of the whole administration, being replete throughout with uncertainty, rapacity, and violence.

Reclaimed land, according to the custom, for it cannot very correctly be called law, of the Burmese, is considered private property whenever it is worth appropriation, which is not very often the case. This embraces common arable land, gardens, orchards, the sites of houses, and sometimes of tanks and fish-ponds. In the vicinity of the capital, and that of large towns where population is concentrated and rent has commenced, lands are bought, sold, and pledged in the same way as immovable property; but the great majority of the lands of the country are unappropriated, and, in the present state of society, of no more exchangeable value than air or water. The property of the land generally belongs to the immediate cultivators, and each estate therefore consists only of a few acres. There are no large accumulations of land in the hands of individual proprietors. Such a state of things could not



exist under the highly arbitrary political institutions of the Burmese. The petty proprietors owe their existence to their political insignificance, and utility in paying contributions. The Government, claiming a right of property in the labour of the cultivators, overlooks the lands which they occupy, as the mere tool or instrument of that labour.

A direct tax on the land, according either to its extent or fertility, is not known to the Burmese. The impost is levied upon the proprietors or cultivators by families, and according to a rough estimate of their supposed means. An organized land-tax, as a branch of public revenue, even in the modified sense now described, does not exist. Nearly all the lands of the kingdom, or, more correctly, the cultivators or peasants, are assigned to favourites and public officers, in lieu of stipends and salaries, or appropriated to the expenses of public establishments,—such as the war-boats, the elephants, &c. Very few of the lands, according to the best information which I could procure, are reserved as a royal domain. The sovereign of Ava therefore, although possessed of unbounded influence and patronage, is destitute of the great resource of other Asiatic governments—a land revenue.

The individual who receives the land from his sovereign, as a temporary assignment for his subsistence, or salary, is denominated in the Burman

language, as the case may be, the “eater,” or consumer, of the province, of the township, of the district, or of the village. The greater number of these persons reside at the Court, and never visit their estates. These are administered, both judicially and fiscally, by agents, often appointed by themselves. The temporary lord and his agent assess the cultivators at their discretion, usually as already mentioned, by levying a kind of capitation tax, which, according to circumstances, is taken either in money, in kind, or in services,—a great deal of it in the latter form. The public officers who hold such temporary grants of land; having commonly paid large bribes for them to the Court, exact, in their turn, large sums from their agents, and the cultivators have to pay for all.

Grants of land, or rather assignments, conveying the right of taxing the inhabitants, are commonly during the pleasure of the sovereign. When an individual falls under the displeasure of Government, and loses favour or place, he is invariably stript of his estate. Such removals are constantly taking place, and consequently these holders of land have no permanent interest in the improvement of the country: on the contrary, every individual endeavours to make the most of his authority while it lasts. Small grants of single villages, or occasionally of districts, are made by the King for particular services, and these purport



to be in perpetuity, but are, in fact, revocable, like any other, although, from their insignificance, possessing, virtually, more permanence and stability than larger grants or assignments. The holder of these becomes the Myo-thu-gyi, or Thu-gyi; and on this account, as well as perhaps from convenience and usage, these offices are often hereditary. The grantees, in such cases, may even alienate their rights by gift or sale; and a translation of the registry of such a transaction will be found in the APPENDIX. The grants now alluded to are often given on very capricious grounds, and for very unworthy purposes. I have mentioned in the JOURNAL, one case, in which a buffoon was the person rewarded; and Captain Alves, in his inquiries in the province of Bassein, found a village which had been granted in perpetuity to a Karyen peasant, educated by a Burmese robber, on account of the peculiar skill he displayed as a boxer before the King. The condition of the grant in this last case was, that the grantee should instruct the village youth in the noble science of pugilism.

There are no descriptions of charity land except a few attached to some temples of celebrity. The grants for these are in perpetuity, and the sacredness of the object for which they are given generally secures them. The cultivators attached to such lands are declared to be perpetual slaves of the temples, as already described. Except in this

respect, these grants do not materially differ from others. The right of taxing the cultivators on them is granted to a public officer or favourite, who takes upon himself the custody and repair of the temple to which they belong.

The Burman priesthood receive no portion of the produce of the land; they are entirely supported, as is well known, by the voluntary contributions of the people, or by gifts and largesses bestowed by the King and chiefs.

The Burman cultivators are commonly oppressed and ill-governed, in proportion to the rank and influence of the lord or assignee at Court, and the consequent difficulty of obtaining redress by an appeal against him. The worst-managed estates are usually those belonging to individuals of the royal family, whose agents may commit great oppressions, with little risk of being called to account. The only resource which a cultivator generally has against oppression, is to abandon his lands, and seek shelter in towns or villages, where it is less severe; and it is one frequently had recourse to. Hence the decay of established towns and villages, and the rise of new ones, is a thing of yearly occurrence.

The lords, or “eaters,” of the land, make yearly offerings to the King, in token of servitude or submission. This offering ought, by the custom of the country, to be a tenth or tithe of the income derived from the grant. The absence of



records, and the want of any settled financial organization, leave, however, the amount of tribute paid, in a good measure, voluntary. A tithe, it ought indeed to be observed, is, by the usage of the Burman Government, the immemorial right, in all cases, of the King. Such is the theory, but in practice the exceptions are of more frequent application than the rule.

Besides the contributions paid to the lord of the land, the cultivators are from time to time, and according to public exigency, supposed or real, called upon for extraordinary contributions to the Crown. The amount of these is fixed, for each particular occasion, by an order of the Luthau, or principal council of state. Such contributions, some of which are local and some general, are levied through the lords and local officers, who never fail to make them a pretext for levying additional exactions on their own account often greater than those taken for the Government.

The Burmese cultivators, as in other Asiatic countries, are associated in villages—an arrangement, however, dictated only by the necessity of congregating for convenience and security, for there is no community of property among them, each individual being the exclusive proprietor of his own fields, and tilling them at his own risk and cost. The inhabitants of towns, or such part of them as are engaged in trade or manufactures, are taxed by families, in the exact same manner

as the cultivators of the land,—a fact which shows plainly enough that no real land-tax exists amongst the Burmans.

The arbitrary and fluctuating assessment now mentioned is more correctly a property-tax than a land-tax. It was confined to the Burmese, Talains, and a few naturalized foreigners. The reader may judge of its operation from the following extract from Captain Alves' judicious Report on Bassein already quoted. "The arbitrary assessments for various purposes, which were levied upon the Burmese and Talains, amounted annually, I am informed, to about 50,000 ticals, on ordinary occasions, for the two townships of Bassein and Pantano. Bassein, the chief town of the province, was exempt from regular assessment, being subject to calls for the support of messengers or other public authorities from the capital, and for their travelling expenses. Pantano and another district of the province were exempt, as being assignments for the maintenance of their respective Myo-thu-gyis. I might probably have obtained information regarding the amount of these arbitrary cesses in the other townships; but the subject of inquiry was rather a delicate one, and might have led to the belief that its continuance was contemplated under British sway. Besides, the tax was an ever-fluctuating one; information regarding it not very readily given; and the purpose for which the money was often



required, I was told, was too ludicrous to bear repetition to an Englishman. The amount for the other townships may be inferred from the above, and was probably about 127,000 ticals. On extraordinary occasions there was no limit to exactions of both men and money. It does not appear that assessments could have been properly ordered for other than public purposes, or under instructions from Court; and although the amount might not always find its way into the treasury of the state, it ought to have been expended in the service of the state. The principle of this tax appears to be that of a property-tax. A town or village having to pay a certain sum, the heads of wards, or principal people of the village, were called together by the Myo-thu-gyi or Thu-gyi, and informed of their quota, in men or money, to be furnished; and they assessed the householders agreeably to their means or supposed means,—some having to pay, say fifty ticals, others one, or even less. I have been informed that there are tolerably correct accounts of the means of each householder; but on such occasions poverty is often pleaded, and it too frequently happens that confinement and torture are resorted to before the collection is completed. The system is obviously open to the greatest abuses, and although it is not against these abuses that the people generally exclaim, it is evident this is the most vexatious of all parts of Burmese administration; and its abo-

lition or modification would have been most desirable, had the country been retained. All persons in public employ were exempt from this tax—also artificers, as they had to work without pay, when required for public purposes, or for the business of the local officers. Also the Mussulman and Chinese inhabitants at Bassein: the former, when required, being made to work as tailors; the latter, to manufacture gunpowder and fireworks. Both these classes, however, were compelled to make gunpowder, from the breaking out of the war until the arrival of the British armament at Bassein. There ought to have been no expense of collection, although it appears to have been perfectly understood, that the overplus exacted by the Thu-gyis on such occasions was their chief source of emolument.”

The number of families in the two townships, mentioned in Captain Alves' Report, of which the amount of the tax is best ascertained, namely, Bassein and Pantano, is six thousand; the annual amount of the tax for these being fifty thousand ticals, and each tical being estimated at two shillings and sixpence, every family is assessed at the rate of twenty shillings and tenpence. A family is here reckoned at six individuals,—so that the taxation per head is about three shillings and fivepence, exclusive of *corvées*, extraordinary contributions, and particular assignments for the maintenance of public officers.



The tax now alluded to applies only to the Burmans and Talains; that is, to the fixed and most improved portion of the population. In the lower provinces especially, a great, indeed a principal, part of the agriculture of the country is carried on by the Karyens. These live in the midst of woods,—are governed by their own chiefs and their own laws, and inhabiting a country where there is abundance of good land, and a scanty population, they generally roam about, snatching a crop from the virgin soil, where choice or caprice directs them. They perform no public services, and in such a state of society could not be subjected to the house-tax imposed on the Burmese and Talains. With an exemption from all contributions and *corvées*, each family paid a certain tax, collected by its own chief, and by him accounted for to the Myowun, or governor of the province, through the collector. The amount of this assessment was not the same in all the provinces, and indeed varied from time to time in the same province. The following is an example taken from the province of Bassein,—Ten ticals being the public tax; one tical for the King's broker, or assayer; half a tical for the King's cook; half a tical for a mat for his Majesty; one tical for the governor of the province; half a tical for the governor's writer; half a tical for the messenger, or runner, who collects the tax; half a tical for the agent of the Thu-gyi of the nearest village, who

assists ; half a tical for an oar for the boat that conveys the contribution to the capital ; half a tical for the house of the provincial collector ; half a tical for his personal expenses ; one tical for the Myo-thu-gyi of the township ; and half a tical for his writer. This makes a total contribution of eighteen ticals ; but there was contributed in kind, for the use of the King, a vis of wax, and ten baskets of rice in the husk, which might be worth, together, about six ticals ; making the whole contribution twenty-four. In the two districts of Bassein and Pantano already named, the number of Karyen families was estimated at two thousand, but the number assessed to the tax was only one thousand five hundred. The real amount of tax, therefore, paid by the Karyens, would be thirty-six thousand ticals per annum, or at the rate of eighteen ticals or forty-five shillings per family ; and six persons being supposed to each family, at the rate of seven shillings and sixpence per head ; which is fifty per cent. higher than the average rate of taxation in the British provinces in Hindostan, and not much short of double the amount contributed directly by the more civilized and industrious Burmans and Talains. It is obvious, from this fact, that under a system of taxation, in any respect moderate or judicious, the amount of the Burman revenue might be rendered very considerable. It would appear, that from the two above-mentioned provinces, of which the money-



tax of the Karyens would be twenty-seven thousand ticals, no more than fifteen thousand were paid into the treasury ; twelve thousand, or eighty per cent., therefore, went to the public officers, or was the direct charge for collection, without making any allowance for the public establishments, being already paid from other resources. This is a fair sample of the character of the Burmese administration. In respect to this tax, it is to be observed that it was in some places paid by the races called the Zabaing and Kyen,\* as well as by the Karyens. It is alleged of it, too, that it is not assessed by families, but by the number of pairs or yokes of buffaloes employed in labour ; and this is also the case in regard to the contribution of the Burmese and Talains especially employed in husbandry. This measure, however, after all, was little better than nominal, although probably an estimate of the number of working cattle may have been occasionally referred to, as a kind of gage for ascertaining the taxable means of the inhabitants. The fact may be quoted as another example of that loose and indefinite character which pervades all Burman institutions.

The house-tax paid by the Burmans and Talains

\* In some of the public accounts of the Burmese government found in the Rung-d'hau, or public hall, at Rangoon, I found the tax on the Karyens accounted for at the rate of ten ticals on each family, and on the Zabaings at nine. This, of course, did not include the charges of collection.

is here stated as an annual contribution, but, as already mentioned, it is not so. It is true that perhaps no year passes without the levying either of general contributions by the authority of the Lut-d'hau, or of unauthorized ones by the local officers, the latter by far the most frequent; but there exists nothing, as far as the Burmese and Talains are concerned, like a permanent and periodical public tax of this nature. The theory of the Government, in fact, although not its practice, would seem to exonerate this portion of the population from the payment of direct periodical money-taxes, in consideration of the *corvées* and military services it is especially called upon to perform, and from which many of the rest of the inhabitants are exempted. The large amount of the assessment, on particular occasions, alone renders it improbable that the tax should be an annual one. In the Burman year 1160, corresponding with 1798, the late King of Ava, for example, imposed a general contribution upon every house or family. This, I presume, would include Aracan, which was then amalgamated with the empire; but it would exclude, no doubt, the wild races and tributary states. The amount in this case was thirty-three one third ticals, indiscriminately for every house, large and small. It took two years to collect the whole contribution, and the amount realized was 48,000,000 ticals, or 600,000*l.* sterling. I have never heard of any similar measure before or



since, nor of any contribution comparable to this in amount. In reference to this tax, there is one important fact, which deserves mention. The capital and districts attached to it are almost always exempted from its imposition by the Government itself, and always so from the irregular exactions in its name by the local officers. In fact, the seat of government, and its neighbourhood, are in all respects, owing to a more regular administration of law, and greater facility of appeal, by far the best-governed portion of the kingdom. While other parts of the country, therefore, are often little better than a wilderness, with a few villages thinly interspersed, the vicinity of the capital is comparatively well cultivated and thickly inhabited. From the accounts which I heard at Ava, and judging, indeed, by the various products of industry which they export, I am led to believe that several of the tributary Shan or Lao states, which have the advantage of being governed by their hereditary rulers, and are free from the oppression and extortion of the temporary functionaries of the Burmese Government, are also more flourishing and prosperous than the greater number of the Burmese provinces.

The capitation or family tax of the Karyens, differing in this respect from the occasional tax levied on the Burmans and Talains, is a fixed, invariable, and annual impost; and hence, notwith-

standing their rudeness, the comparative industry and freedom of this race.

In some districts, a tax was levied on fruit-trees, confined to those in actual bearing. The following is a specimen of the rate of assessment taken for Lower Pegu :—A mangoe, a jack, a cocoa-nut, and a Mariam tree (a very small species of mango, peculiar to this country), paid each one-eighth of a tical per annum. An Areca and Palmyra palm paid each one-quarter of a tical, and a betel vine one-sixteenth of a tical. At the capital, and upper provinces, generally, a tithe of the produce of fruit-trees is said to be the rate of taxation ; but, I believe, like many other imposts, it is not rigidly exacted. Indeed, it may be stated generally, that the unsettled habits of the people, and the ignorance and unskilfulness of the tax-gatherer, contribute in practice to counterbalance, in some degree, the arbitrary and oppressive character of the government in theory. The produce of this tax, or the amount which reached the public treasury, I have not been able to ascertain.

The fishery of ponds, lakes, rivers, and salt-water creeks, is an object of revenue, under the Burmese Government. Like the land, however, the greater number of the fisheries appear to have been assigned to public officers, favourites, and courtiers. The following is a specimen of the imposts levied on a single fish-pond not assigned : five ticals of



silver for the royal revenue, half a tical for a mat for the King, one tical to supply bees' wax for his Majesty, one tical for the Myowun, one for his scribes, one for his messengers, two and a half for his personal expenses, half a tical for the messenger who collected the tax, three and a half for the chief of the township in which the pond is situated, and one and a half for his scribe: this makes a total of seventeen and a half ticals. His Majesty's share of this, it will appear, is six ticals and a half. The expenses of collection, in this case, are therefore nearly one hundred and seventy per cent.

Sea-fish was commonly cured in the form of Ngapi, or "bruised fish," the offensive condiment which I have already mentioned, and which is an article of universal use throughout the kingdom. The impost upon this commodity was levied upon a principle the rudest of all, but perhaps not the most oppressive. It was charged on each boat-load when she took her departure for a market from the place of manufactory, and this without any reference to the size of the boat, or the quality and amount of the cargo. Its rate was as follows:—Ten ticals of silver for the revenue, two ticals for the Myowun, two for his scribes, two for his messengers, two for his personal expenses, three for the chief of the township, and one and a half for his scribe; making a total of twenty-two ticals for each boat-load. In this instance, the charges

of collection were one hundred and twenty-five per cent.

The greater quantity of the salt consumed by the Burmese is manufactured on the sea-coast, by the hasty process of boiling in small earthen vessels; and from the nature of the climate, there are scarcely more than two months, namely, February and March, in which the manufacture can be conducted on such a plan. The duties are levied upon each separate manufactory, consisting of any number of earthen pans which the manufacturer may think proper to employ. The tax has neither reference to the amount of these, nor to the quantity of salt manufactured. The following is a specimen of this tax as it is imposed in the district of Bassein:—The royal revenue, fifteen ticals; broker, or assayer, two ticals; governor of the province, two and a half ticals; his scribes, two and a half ticals; his messengers two and a half ticals; his personal expenses, two and a half ticals; agent to the collector, two and a half ticals; the collector, two and a half ticals; the chief of the township, five ticals; and the village Thu-gyi, for leave to cut firewood, one tical: this makes a total on each manufactory of thirty-eight ticals, and a charge of collection upon the net revenue of above one hundred and fifty-three per cent.

Notwithstanding the impost upon salt now men-



tioned, and the heavy expense of the process by which it is manufactured, aggravated by the unsuitableness of the climate, the current price to the consumer is scarcely one-half of that paid in those parts of the British possessions in Bengal, where it is the cheapest.

The eggs of the green turtle, and the well-known esculent swallows' nests, were objects of revenue under the Burmese Government. The first were collected on Diamond and Negrais Islands, and the last in the islands fronting the coasts of the provinces of Mergui and Tavoy. The practice was to rent both, from year to year, to a farmer. The produce to the treasury was comparatively very trifling, owing to unskilfulness, want of capital, and malversation.

The celebrated Petroleum wells afford, as I ascertained at Ava, a revenue to the King or his officers. The wells are private property, and belong hereditarily to about thirty-two individuals. A duty of five parts in one hundred is levied upon the petroleum as it comes from the wells, and the amount realized upon it is said to be twenty-five thousand ticals per annum. No less than twenty thousand of this goes to contractors, collectors, or public officers; and the share of the state, or five thousand, was assigned during our visit as a pension of one of the Queens.

The Burmese have mines of gold, silver, sapphire, and amber, considered to be royal property.

Of the produce of the gold mines I know nothing; but some Chinese at Ava, who had visited the silver mines, informed me, that these were rented to Chinese contractors, who employed about one thousand of their own countrymen as miners; paying a fixed duty or rent to the King of Ava by two half-yearly instalments of forty-eight viss, or four thousand eight hundred ticals, about six hundred pounds sterling. The King lays claim to every ruby or sapphire which exceeds the value of one hundred ticals; and there is, from all accounts, a large collection of both in the royal treasury; but as they are never sold, and not often disposed of in any way, they can hardly be said to form an effectual portion of the revenue.

The teak forests may be enumerated among the sources of Burman revenue. The greater number of these being distant from a market, their produce is of no exchangeable value; and the peasantry of the neighbourhood are usually allowed to fell timber in them, to any extent, upon payment of a trifling *douceur* to the chief of the township or village to which they are attached. This was not the case with the timber of the forests of Sarawadi, which chiefly furnished the exports from Rangoon for foreign countries. This district has been commonly the assignment of a member of the royal family. The woodcutters paid to the lord, whoever he might be, twenty in



one hundred, in kind, on all the wood felled ; and this tax they had farther to transport from the forest to the Irawadi, and from thence to the market in Rangoon, at their own cost. The royal duty upon such timber was five in one hundred, also levied in kind.

With the few exceptions which I have already mentioned, there exist no transit duties, and there are no dues levied either in fairs or in markets. This may be considered rather a singular circumstance in a country where industry is in other respects so overloaded and oppressed.

As to custom-house duties, those on foreign imports are ten in one hundred ; and upon exports, five, paid to the King ; with two in one hundred upon the former, and one in one hundred on the latter, for the local officers. Native and foreign vessels of every description, carrying on the external trade, paid these duties ; but European and other square-rigged vessels were liable to a long list of charges besides. Until within a very few years previous to the war, this class of vessels were made to unship their rudders and land their guns. After a long struggle, they were exonerated from unshipping their rudders upon paying a *douceur* of thirty-two ticals to the local authorities. The other charges and exactions were numerous. The following is a specimen taken from those actually levied on a vessel of 450 tons burthen ; viz. permission to land the cargo, four

and a half ticals; one piece of Indian cloth of a particular description, worth forty ticals; another ditto, worth eight ticals; another, worth four ticals; two handkerchiefs, worth two ticals; cash, four ticals; a present of sugar and *China plates* to certain officers, who must be invited to a feast on board the ship, value sixty-two ticals; permission to ship cargo, four and a half ticals; anchorage dues and pilotage inwards, three hundred and ninety-four ticals; measurement dues, seven hundred ticals; offering to the King's warehouse, fifty ticals; three pieces of Indian cloth, twenty-four ticals; two handkerchiefs for an order to the ship to depart, value two ticals; cash for the same purpose, nine ticals; for rendering an account of the ship's export and import charges, five ticals; three handkerchiefs given for an order to reship guns and gunpowder, value three ticals; present to the King's linguist, fifty ticals; eight handkerchiefs presented to certain watchmen, value eight ticals; ditto presented to the watchhouse, value eight ticals; pilotage outwards, one hundred and fifty ticals. The whole charges here enumerated amount to about fifteen hundred ticals.

The items now stated, with the exception of the anchorage and measurement dues, were the perquisites of the local officers. During our visit to Ava, the Queen had an assignment upon the measurement dues; so that the anchorage dues, with the regular tax of five in one hundred upon



exports, and ten upon imports, alone went into the public treasury. The duties, at the option of the custom-house officers, are levied in money or kind; the latter a very inconvenient, and often a vexatious arrangement for the foreign merchant, who sees his packages deranged, his sets broken, and his goods damaged, without having any remedy. A whimsical but well-authenticated example of the vexation attending this practice, was stated to me by an eye-witness. The commander of an European vessel imported a hawser, or small cable. The Burman officers were puzzled, not knowing whether to charge the duties in kind or on a valuation, but resolved at length to cut off a tithe of the cable,—the collector facetiously observing, that the produce, if fit for nothing else, might answer for lighting the King's segar!

Under the Burmese Government there existed no duties in the way of excise. The consumption of wines, spirits, opium, and other intoxicating drugs, is contrary to the religion of the Burmese, and strictly prohibited by their laws. Gaming is considered equally illegal. Foreigners, however, were indulged in these practices, and they were even connived at, occasionally, by some of the provincial governors, who consented to wink both at gaming and drinking, on receiving a tithe of the profits accruing from licensing these indulgences. No portion of these gains, however, found their way into the public treasury.

The imports upon goods brought from China by land are, like the general imports seawards, charged with a duty of ten in one hundred. The exports are, I believe, duty free, but of this I am not certain. The annual produce of this tax was stated to me at 40,000 ticals. The Queen and her brother had an assignment upon this branch of revenue, from which they derived an income of 25,000 ticals; the remainder going to collectors and other officers. It should be noticed, that the trade of Lao and of other tributary States is equally free from all custom-house and transit duties, as that of the rest of the kingdom.

A tax on a singular principle is levied on the currency, through means of the Poe-zas, who are joint brokers and assayers. These persons pay to the Government a tax of one tical of pure silver per month, for every pair of bellows employed by them in their calling. In the town of Sagaing, I found there were no less than thirty of these persons, and at Rangoon about one hundred and twenty. The number at Amarapura and Ava is very great, but I did not ascertain its amount.

At Rangoon, but I believe nowhere else, a tax is levied of ten in one hundred on the wages of labour, confined, however, to artisans, porters, and others connected with the commercial transactions of the port. A tax on the administration of justice, with fees, forfeitures, and fines, form a fixed and not inconsiderable branch of the revenue of



the State, or the reward of its officers. The offerings made by public officers and tributary princes to the King, twice in each year, are direct contributions to the public treasury. They usually consist of some fine cloths, horses, and a quantity of gold, corresponding to the rank of the party. The largest contributions are made by the Thaub-was, or tributary princes. These may be taken as an example of the rate. The tributaries are said to be one hundred in number, of whom twenty make an offering of forty ticals of gold each; forty, of half that amount; and forty more, of six ticals only. Each of the two first classes present also a horse valued at one hundred and fifty ticals of silver. The whole of this contribution, exclusive of fine cloths, which they furnish like others, and the value of which I have no means of ascertaining, amounts to 70,480 ticals. It is not improbable that the whole contributions of this nature made to the King of Ava may amount to 100,000 ticals, or 12,500*l.* sterling, per annum; and trifling as this sum may appear, I have no doubt it is one of the most considerable of his Majesty's direct sources of revenue.

From the statement now given of the Burman system of revenue, its rudeness, vices, and imperfections, are put beyond all question. The Burman officers are, as it were, turned loose upon the country to prey upon it, like a flight of locusts. A fixed money-salary for its functionaries is a thing un-

known to the Burmese Government ; and, unless to contribute to the personal gratification of the sovereign, it is seldom that money is disbursed from the public treasury. If a foreign expedition be undertaken ; if a palace or a temple be to be built ; if an embassy is to be sent to a foreign state, or a mission from a foreign state is to be entertained, an extraordinary contribution is levied on the people, general or local, as the exigency of the case may seem to require. In fact, the contributions paid directly into the treasury become little better than a hoard to gratify the vanity or avarice of the reigning prince ; and the amount exacted from the people, for this purpose, depends entirely upon his personal character, whether liberal or avaricious.

Under the circumstances which I have stated, any thing like a detailed account of the resources of the country cannot well exist ; by far the largest share of what is exacted from the people being intercepted, and never reaching the treasury. While at Ava, I received various statements of the amount of treasure left by the late King at his demise. One of these made this to amount to no more than 3,600,000 ticals ; but here the treasure in silver only was included ; that in gold, said, however, to be inconsiderable, not being accounted for. The highest estimate made it amount to 10,000,000 ticals, or 1,250,000*l.* sterling. The statement, however, upon which I place most



reliance, made the gold and silver treasure together to amount to no more than 4,600,000 ticals, or 575,000*l.* sterling. This was the whole accumulation of a parsimonious prince, during a peaceful reign of thirty-eight years. From this hoard, little, as I have already said, was disbursed. Dividing, therefore, the amount by the duration of the reign, or thirty-eight years, we shall have an estimate of the actual annual money-revenue of a Burman king under favourable circumstances, and this is no more than 15,131*l.* sterling. The largest expenditure from the royal hoard was in the gilding of temples and palaces; and, perhaps the next to it, in purchases of foreign jewellery; and in furnishing gold vessels and trinkets to the public officers and their wives, on their promotion to new grades of nobility. If for all these sources of expenditure we allow an additional sum of 10,000*l.* sterling, still the royal revenue will not exceed 25,000*l.* per annum,—an income far exceeded by that of many native subjects of the British possessions in India.

## CHAPTER VI.

Commerce.—Money.—Rate of interest.—Internal trade.—Chinese trade.—Trade sea-ward.—Natural products.—Minerals.—Forests.—Agricultural productions.—Animals.

To understand the Burmese trade, a short account of the circulating medium will be necessary. This consists, for small payments, of lead; and for larger ones, of gold and silver, but chiefly of the latter. The Burmese have no coin of any one of these metals. At every payment, the money must be weighed, and very generally assayed,—a rude state of things, of the utmost inconvenience to trade. The denominations of weights used in the weighing of money of all descriptions, are the same as on ordinary occasions: the Kyat or Tical, and the Paiktha or Viss, being by far the most frequent. Silver may be considered as the standard; gold is generally held to be about seventeen times more valuable than silver. Lead, used as coin, fluctuates according to its market value, and in reference to silver may be commonly estimated in the proportion of five hundred to one. The weighing and assaying of



the metals used as currency, necessarily gives rise to the employment of a class of persons as brokers, money-changers, and assayers. These, as already mentioned, are known in the Burmese language by the name of Pöe-za. Every new assay costs the owner, if the metal be silver, two and a half parts in one hundred; one and a half of which is the established commission of the assayers, while one per cent. is lost, or supposed to be lost, in the operation. If that operation be repeated forty times, it follows that the original amount is wholly absorbed,—a fact which shows the enormous waste of the precious metals, which attends this rude substitute for a currency.

The silver in common circulation is of various degrees of fineness, each being known by a specific name. The best description is very nearly pure, or at most does not contain above from two to five parts in one hundred, of alloy: it is in this that payments are always made to the King. Another description, frequent in commercial transactions, contains ten in one hundred, of alloy. That in most common use in the ordinary transactions of the lower orders, contains no less than twenty-five parts in one hundred, of alloy.

The fineness of gold, besides being occasionally determined by assay like that of silver, is often ascertained by the touch. The scale employed consists of ten parts, called M'hus, and has probably been borrowed from the Hindoos. The

finest gold in circulation is, according to this scale, of nine and three quarters touch, or twenty-three and a quarter carats fine. Between this and that which is only twelve carats, or contains one half alloy, is to be found in use, almost every intermediate degree of fineness.

The state of trade and commerce may be judged of by the rates of interest and profit. When a pledge is given, the common interest at Ava is two in one hundred per mensem. When there is no pledge, it rises to five in one hundred. In the courts of justice, however, no interest can be recovered on a loan for any period exceeding ten months. At Ava, twenty-five in one hundred is considered the average rate of profit on each operation; and fifty in one hundred, a good one. It should be recollected that the commercial transactions of the Burmese are almost all of the nature of retail.

In the lower provinces of the Burmese empire, that is, in the proper country of the Peguans, the internal traffic is almost wholly conducted by water communication: there are hardly any roads, but the natural facilities of communication by the former channel are such as in a great measure to compensate for their absence. Indeed, the area of about twenty-seven thousand three hundred square miles, which extends in one direction from the sea to the promontory of Kyaok-taran on the Irawadi, and in another from the river of



Bassein to that of Martaban, constituting the natural country of the Peguan race, possesses facilities of internal navigation which are equalled in few countries. In the hilly region, constituting the country of the Burmese, the facility of water communication is of course far less remarkable; for it possesses no rivers of much utility to commerce, except the Irawadi, the Kyen-dwen, and Saluen. Commercial intercourse here, therefore, is carried on chiefly by land conveyance; the carriage, for the most part consisting of oxen, of carts drawn by oxen, and occasionally of small horses. The merchants carrying on traffic in this manner, travel for security in caravans, as in other parts of the East. The trading vessels which we observed on the Irawadi, were generally small, and not exceeding ten or fifteen tons burthen. We saw however, at Ava, Pakok'ho and other trading places, a good number of a larger description, some of which could not have been of less burthen than one hundred tons. All Burman trading vessels seem to be constructed on the same plan. They are long, flat, and so very narrow, that wings or out-riggers are necessary to prevent them from up setting. A sail made of matting, and of a square form, is used with a fair wind, which is pretty frequent and steady in the southwest monsoon. When this fails, the boats are propelled in the lower provinces with the assistance of long poles; and in the upper, where

walking along the bank is practicable, they are dragged by the crew, numerous of course on this account.

The principal points where the internal trade of the kingdom concentrates itself, may be stated to be, the capital, Rangoon, Tongo, and Bassein. The inhabitants of the sea-ports, and of the lower parts of Pegu, generally take to the capital and upper provinces, as articles of trade, rice, salt, pickled and dried fish, and foreign commodities. The Shans, or people of Lao, import into Ava cotton and silk stuffs; some raw silk, varnish, stick lac, ivory, bees-wax, lacquer ware, swords, gold, lead, and tin; and they take back to their own country similar articles with those imported into Ava from the lower country; by far the most considerable of these being salt, with pickled and dried fish. The articles exported from Ava for the consumption of the lower provinces, consist of petroleum, salt-petre, lime, paper, lacquer ware, cotton and silk fabrics, iron, cutlery, some brass-ware, terra japonica, palm sugar, onions, tamarinds, &c. &c.

The Chinese of Yunan conduct a considerable traffic with the Burman empire, the principal marts of it being the capital, or rather a place six miles to the north-east of it, called Midé, and B'hamó, the chief place of a province of the same name bordering upon China. This branch of trade is chiefly in the hands of the Chinese, being



divided between those residing in the Burman dominions, and their correspondents in China. This traffic, although probably subjected to less restraint, resembles, in a great measure, the commerce which is carried on, on their mutual frontier, between the Russians and Chinese. It is not a continued trade, conducted throughout the year, as between two friendly and confiding nations, but one carried on at annual fares. The caravan from China, composed entirely of Chinese, commonly arrives at Ava in the beginning of December, and is said to take about six weeks in travelling from Yunan. It is probable, indeed, that it cannot quit China until the cessation of the periodical rains in the middle of October, which would limit the journey to the period mentioned. No part of the journey is by water, nor are the goods conveyed by wheel carriage, but by small horses, mules, and asses. These facts seem to prove, that the Irawadi is not navigable as far as the Chinese frontier, and that the roads, generally, are bad and difficult, which, indeed, the traders themselves expressly assert to be the case. The principal fair appears to be held at B'hamó, and a few of the traders only find their way to Ava. The articles imported from China may be enumerated as follow : copper, orpiment, quicksilver, vermilion, iron pans, brass-wire, tin, lead, alum, silver, gold and gold-leaf, earthen-ware, paints, carpets, rhubarb, tea,

honey, raw silk, velvets and other wrought silks, spirits, musk, verdigris, dry fruits, paper, fans, umbrellas, shoes, wearing apparel, and a few live animals. The copper is chiefly imported wrought, even when intended to be smelted down again, because the exportation of the unwrought metals is by the Chinese laws contraband. The orpiment, or yellow arsenic, is said to be the produce of mines in Yunan, and is of very fine quality. A portion of it, exported from Rangoon, finds its way to the markets of western Asia and Europe through Calcutta. The metals were stated to me to be in like manner the produce of Yunan, which, although a poor province, otherwise is rich in minerals. The tea, I presume also to be the produce of this or some neighbouring province in China. It is generally a coarse black tea, not inferior in quality to what is called Bohea in this country, made up into the form of thick cakes. It is used by all the Chinese settlers, and by such of the Burmese as can afford it. The price by retail, as I was informed by some English merchants who resided in Ava, seldom exceeds a tical per viss, or sixpence halfpenny per pound; and it is probable that its wholesale price in the fair of Midé, on the arrival of the caravan, does not exceed half this amount. The largest article of import is raw silk. From this, principally, is manufactured the cloth which is in such general use with all classes of the Burmese.



The quality of the article is coarse, and it suffers some injury from a long land-carriage. The annual importation was stated to me at twenty-seven thousand bundles, each worth about thirty ticals. This would make the value of the whole, in British money, about eighty-one thousand pounds sterling. The live animals imported are rather objects of curiosity than of trade; they consist of dogs, pheasants, and ducks.

The articles imported to China consist of raw cotton, ornamented feathers, esculent swallows' nests, ivory, rhinoceros and deer's horns, sapphires and noble serpentine, with a small quantity of British woollens. Raw cotton is by far the most considerable article. The amount was stated to me as low as twenty thousand bales of one hundred viss, or three hundred and sixty-five pounds each, or 7,300,000 lbs., and as high as fifty-seven thousand bales, or 20,805,000 lbs.; the average is in round numbers 14,000,000 lbs. This is of three or four different qualities, and all freed from the seed. At the medium price of four hundred ticals per thousand viss, given to me by some Chinese merchants engaged in the trade, the value of this property would be 228,000% sterling. The feathers, chiefly those of a blue jay, are intended to ornament the dresses of ceremony of the Chinese Mandarines. The birds are hunted for the purpose of this traffic throughout the Burmese dominions; and I am told that the

Burmese hunters go all the way to India, as far as the province of Cuttack, in search of them. The sapphires are in request as buttons to the caps of the Chinese officers of rank. The amount of the export and import trade with China has been variously stated at from four to seven millions of ticals, or from 400,000*l.* to 700,000*l.* sterling. According to the estimates already given, the two principal articles of the trade, silk and cotton, would constitute 309,000*l.* of this value.

The foreign trade of the Burmese, seaward, is for the most part conducted from the port of Rangoon, the situation of which is both central and convenient, whether in reference to the interior of the Burmese dominions, or to those foreign ports with which the Burmese hold a commercial intercourse. These last are Chittagong, Dacca and Calcutta in Bengal, Madras and Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast, the Nicobar islands, and Penang. There is also an occasional intercourse with Bombay and with the Persian and Arabian Gulf. The articles exported are teak wood, terra japonica or catechu, stick lac, bees-wax, elephants' teeth, raw cotton, orpiment, gold, silver, rubies and sapphires, with horses. By far the most important of these commodities is teak timber. The quantity annually exported is said to be equal to 7500 full sized trees. Calcutta is the principal mart, and the quantity imported there in 1823-4 was valued in



the Custom-house books at 264,176 rupees. Raw cotton is exported from Ava to Dacca, and is said, from its superior quality, to be used in the fabrication of the fine muslins of that place. The quantity annually sent was stated to me at 15,000 maunds, or 1,200,000 lbs., all in the seed. Gold and silver, although contraband, are exported in considerable quantity from the Burman dominions, and, as I understand, more especially from Bassein, and overland by the route of Arracan. I have heard the value, exported in this manner, estimated at six and a half lacs of rupees, or about sixty-five thousand pounds sterling.

The principal imports are as follow: cotton piece goods, British, Bengal, and Madras; British woollens, iron, steel, quicksilver, copper, cordage, borax, sulphur, gunpowder, saltpetre, fire-arms, coarse porcelain, English glass ware, opium, tobacco, cocoa and areca nuts, sugar and spirits. The Burmese have but few cotton manufactures of their own, and appear from very early times to have been furnished with the principal part of their consumption from the Coromandel coast. To these were afterwards added the cheaper fabricks of Bengal, and both are now in a great measure superseded by British manufactures. After cotton piece goods, the most important articles of importation into the Burman empire are areca and cocoa nuts. No part of the Bur-

mese territory appears well suited to the growth of the areca and cocoa palms; and the consumption being general, the importation of their produce is consequently very large. Areca nut prepared is brought from the eastern parts of Bengal; and it is brought in the crude state from Penang and the east coast of the island of Sumatra. A considerable quantity of tobacco is imported from Masulipatam and its neighbourhood: this, in the estimation of the Burmese at least, is very inferior in quality to what is raised in the upper provinces of their own country, and, generally, does not fetch above one-third of the price of the best description of the latter. The following sketch of the trade of the port of Rangoon, which was furnished to me by an intelligent person long engaged in it, will show that it has partaken of the augmentation and prosperity which have, of late years, characterized other branches of the Indian trade. For some years previous to 1811, the number of square-rigged vessels which cleared-out of Rangoon was from eighteen to twenty-five annually. A striking increase took place in 1811, consequent probably on the capture of the French and Dutch possessions, and the suppression of privateering. From that year to 1817, the annual number was from thirty-five to thirty-six ships. From 1817 to 1822, the average was forty ships; and in this last year itself they amounted to fifty-six. Previous to 1811, the



quantity of cotton goods paid as duty to the King was from four to six thousand pieces yearly, for the most part coarse, and not worth above five ticals each. The average, or five thousand pieces, would make the whole imports at this time 50,000, and their value would be 250,000 ticals. The duty received in specie, at this time, was from 6000 to 12,000 ticals yearly ; or, on an average, 9000 : so that the whole imports, thus far, would amount only to 340,000 ticals, or reckoning each tical at two shillings and sixpence, to 42,000*l*. From the year 1811 to 1816 inclusive, the cotton goods paid as duties yearly, amounted to from six to nine thousand pieces, and their quality was so improved that they were now reckoned worth eight ticals each. This would make the value of the duties, on an average of the quantity, 60,000, and the imports 600,000 ticals. The duties paid in specie now ranged from 14,000 to 22,000 ticals, or on an average 16,500. The whole imports would consequently be 76,500 ticals, or 93,625*l*. From the year 1817 to 1822, the cotton goods paid in as duties ranged yearly from 9000 to 14,000 pieces, or were on an average 11,500. The greater portion was now of British manufacture, and each piece was reckoned at the average value of ten ticals. The duties paid in specie ranged from 32,000 to 44,000 ticals. The value of the whole imports, according to this statement, and omitting, as in the last cases, other

articles paid in kind, was 1,530,000 ticals, or 191,250%. In the last year of this period, or 1822, the duty paid on cotton goods amounted to 14,600 pieces; and in broad cloth, of which very little was previously imported, to 280 pieces, the first valued at ten ticals each, and the last at one hundred and twenty. The duty paid in specie was 46,000 ticals, and consequently the whole import trade would amount to 2,256,000 ticals, or 282,000%. which shows, in the short period of twelve years, an extension of between five and six hundred per cent.; a remarkable increase under a rude government, by which commerce is not protected but oppressed, and which may, for the most part, be traced to the influence of the freedom introduced into the intercourse between Great Britain and India; in a word, to the beneficial influence of British enterprise and capital. If to the statement now given be added the other articles paying duty in kind, the imports of Rangoon will certainly not be over-rated at 300,000%. a-year, and the exports, whether in produce or specie, being taken at the same amount, the whole trade will be 600,000%. a-year.

My opportunities and information will not allow me to give any thing beyond a very brief sketch of the useful natural products of the Burmese dominions. In the Mineral kingdom there exist, limestone and marble, gems, noble serpentine, iron, gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, antimony,



amber, coal, petroleum, nitre, natron, and salt. In a mineralogical view, the Burmese territory may be described as consisting of four divisions:—the great alluvial plain, formed by the *débouchemens* of the Irawadi, the Setang, and the Saluen rivers; the country of secondary, or tertiary formation, extending from between the 18th and 19th degrees of north latitude to near the 22nd; the extensive mountainous tract of primary formation lying to the north, the north-east, and east of Ava, consisting for the most part of Lao, or the country of the Shans; and the hilly regions which form the western boundary of the valleys of the Irawadi and Kyen-dwen. The first, as might be expected, is remarkably destitute of mineral products, and it is the third which, from all accounts, is most distinguished for its mineral wealth. Limestone exists in great abundance in the province of Martaban, and in the mountains about the capital; and the lime afforded by both is remarkable for its whiteness and purity. Statuary marble, as I have already described in the Journal, exists about forty miles above Ava, at a place called Sakyin, on the eastern bank of the Irawadi. It is, from all I could learn, abundant and accessible; and as to its quality, I have the high authority of Mr. Chantrey for saying, that he considers it, judging from the specimens he has seen in England, as equal to that of Carrara. The Burmese have some scruples

against allowing strangers to carry off marble images, but would have none against permitting the exportation of the rough material, when they found themselves deriving a profit from it. It might, therefore, I conceive, be advantageously sent to England for statuary. With the exception of a few miles of land carriage, the Irawadi would convey it all the way to the sea, and the freight of dead weight to Europe is known to be very moderate, from the want of heavy goods in remitting from India. The Chinese, who are well acquainted with such operations, might be advantageously engaged in quarrying it, and conveying it to the place of embarkation.

The precious stones ascertained to exist in the Burmese territory, are chiefly those of the sapphire family and the spinelle ruby. They are found at two places, not very distant from each other, called Mogaut and Kyat-pëan, about five days' journey from the capital, in an east-south-east direction. From what I could learn, the gems are not obtained by any regular mining operations, but by digging and washing the gravel in the beds of rivulets or small brooks. All the varieties of the sapphire, as well as the spinelle, are found together, and along with them large quantities of corundum. The varieties ascertained to exist, are the oriental sapphire (Nila); the oriental ruby, called Pata-mra, and Kyaok-ni, or red stone; the opalescent ruby, called Pata-mra



kaong-wen, or the cat's eye ruby ; the star ruby ; the green, the yellow and the white sapphires ; and the oriental amethyst. The common sapphire is by far the most frequent, but in comparison with the ruby is very little prized by the Burmese, in which they agree with other nations. I brought home with me several of great size, the largest weighing no less than 3630 grains, or above nine hundred and seven carats.

While I was at Ava, two stones, partaking equally of the sapphire and ruby, were brought to me for sale. One of these, the property of the queen's brother, was a very fine gem, without a flaw, the red and blue colour nearly dividing it into two equal and distinct parts : five hundred ticals, or about sixty pounds, were asked for it. I did not purchase it at once ; and when I inquired for it a few days afterwards, I found that it had been stolen from the owner. Another stone, a very large one, a portion of which was white and the remainder sapphire-coloured, was also brought to me for sale : it was, however, very imperfect, and of little value. Among some rubies which I brought home, one of considerable size was a fine and perfect *Asteria*, or star-stone. The spinelle ruby, Zebu-gaong, is not unfrequent in Ava, but is not much valued by the natives. I brought with me to England a perfect specimen, both as to colour and freedom from flaws, weighing twenty-two carats. The

sapphire and ruby mines are considered the property of the King, or at least he lays claim to all that exceed in value a viss of silver, or one hundred ticals. The miners often, it appears, evade this law, by breaking the large stones into fragments. In the royal treasury, there are, notwithstanding, many fine stones of both descriptions. The year before our visit, the King received from the mines one ruby weighing 124 grains; and the year preceding that, eight good ones, but of smaller size. No stranger is permitted to visit the mines; even the Chinese and Mohammedans residing at Ava are carefully excluded. Noble serpentine, called by the Burmese Kyaok-sin, or green stone, is exported in considerable quantities by the Chinese to their own country, being there used, as I understand, for rings and amulets. From what I could learn, it is obtained in certain mountains in the country of the Kyen.

There appears to be no deficiency of iron ore in the Burmese dominions. Mines of it are wrought in the vicinity of the mountain Paopa, in the country of Lao, and other places. From the ignorance of the natives, and the want of machinery, and not from any defect in the ores, the metal obtained is so imperfect as to lose from thirty to fifty per cent. in the process of forging it; and I do not understand that the Burmese are at all acquainted with the art of preparing steel, or of fabricating utensils of cast iron.



Gold is found in small quantities by washing the sand of brooks, in a few situations, such as Shwe-gyen, which lies at no great distance from the town of Pegu; and I was informed that it existed more abundantly in Lao. It does not appear, however, that it is plentiful in any part of the Burmese dominions; and the greater quantity of what is used in gilding, in trinkets and as currency, seems to be imported from China. This was estimated to me at six hundred viss a year, which is equal to 60,000 ticals in weight. According to Burman estimate, gold is seventeen times the value of silver, which makes the amount 1,020,000 ticals, or, at 2s. to the tical, 102,000*l*.

Silver mines are wrought only in one place in the Burmese dominions, called Bor-twang. This seems to be in the territory of Lao, towards the Chinese frontier, and distant twelve days' journey from B'hamó. The undertakers and labourers are both Chinese,—a circumstance which obtains in respect to all effectual mining undertakings conducted among the semi-barbarous neighbours of China, Tonquinese, Siamese, and Malays, as well as the Burmans. The tax paid by the Chinese undertakers to the King of Ava, is forty-eight viss, or 48,000 ticals. I think it probable that these thrifty and prudent people would not pay more than a twentieth part of the gross produce as tax, considering the expensive and laborious nature of the employment, and the barbarous na-

ture of the country in which it is conducted. If this be the case, the produce may be estimated at 960,000 ticals, or £120,000. My information respecting these mines was supplied at Ava by two Chinese merchants, who had visited them.—Copper, tin, lead, and antimony, are said to exist abundantly in the mountainous country of Lao. In the market of Ava, we found a good many specimens of copper ore, which had been brought there for alchemical purposes, and which, we were assured, came from the last-named country. They seemed to me to be a massive carbonate of a stalactitic form. I could not find, however, that any copper mines are worked by the Burmese; and they are indebted for their supply of this metal to the Chinese. Tin ore is asserted by the Burmese to be found in Lao, and I believe that some mines or washings are worked. The Chinese, however, import some; but whether the produce of their own country, or of some neighbouring one, I could not learn. In Láo, also, there is found lead and antimony, and both are wrought and smelted. We found ores of each in the market of Ava, brought there for the same purpose as the ores of copper. Lead, however, I find to be among the Chinese imports. Indeed, such is the rude state of Burmese industry, that the metallic wealth of the country generally, may be described as lying in a great measure useless and neglected, and it seems generally to be cheaper



to import from foreign countries than to produce on the spot.

Mines of amber, called Ambong by the Burmese, are worked at Parentwang, a place near B'hamó. In what geognostic situation it is found I could not learn. It seems to be abundant, for the cost of the unwrought material at Ava does not exceed seven ticals per viss, or is under four shillings per pound.—Traces of coal, as mentioned in the Journal, have been found in the Burmese territory ; and it is indeed highly probable, from the geological formation of a great portion of it, that this mineral is very extensively diffused. During our visit, the King had expressed much desire to be possessed of a steam-vessel, and it was suggested to him that, coal being the most convenient fuel, some inconvenience might arise from the want of it, especially as wood was comparatively scarce and high-priced in the neighbourhood of the capital. Specimens of Bengal coal were shown to him ; and he and his courtiers immediately observed, that there was abundance of the mineral in the country.

The Petroleum wells of Re-nan-gyaong have been already described in the Journal. From the more accurate information which I obtained at Ava, it appears that the produce of these may be estimated at the highest, in round numbers, at about twenty-two millions of viss, each of  $3\frac{65}{100}$  pounds, avoirdupois. This estimate is formed

from the report of the Myo-Thugyi, who rents the tax on the wells, which is five in a hundred. His annual collection is 25,000 ticals; and he estimated, or conjectured, that he lost by smuggling about 8,000, making the total 33,000. The value of the whole produce, therefore, is 660,000 ticals. The value of the oil on the spot is reckoned at three ticals per hundred viss, and consequently its amount will be as above stated.

Nitre, natron, and culinary salt are found in many of the arid and calcareous tracts in the upper provinces of the Burmese empire, and chiefly in the neighbourhood of the capital. The first of these is found in the state of an efflorescence or incrustation on the surface of the earth, as in Bengal. What we obtained from the market of Ava, was fine and in large crystals, appearing to have been well prepared. It was, however, a great deal dearer than saltpetre of the same quality in the market of Calcutta; indeed much is imported from the latter place into Pegu. Natron is also found in the state of an incrustation on the ground: what we saw had undergone no purification, but was full of earthy impurities. In this state it is used by the Burmese instead of soap, a preparation with which they seem to be unacquainted. The price by retail does not exceed forty shillings per ton, and no doubt, in the large way, it might be obtained much cheaper, so that it may be concluded, that it



would afford to pay freight as an article of exportation to Europe. Salt, or muriate of soda, is found in many of the lakes of the upper provinces, under circumstances which I have alluded to in the Journal. From this there can be little doubt of the existence of salt in beds, although I could not find that its presence in this form has been actually determined.

Among the useful Vegetable productions of Ava, the teak tree holds a distinguished place. The forests of this invaluable timber are unquestionably the most extensive in India. The teak is, I believe, nowhere to be found in the low alluvial lands to which the tides reach; but in the high lands beyond their influence, it seems to be very generally disseminated throughout the kingdom. In our own progress to Ava, we noticed it all the way from Shwe-daong to Melun, a distance of at least one hundred and fifty miles. Dr. Wallich found it, again, growing side by side with oaks in the range of mountains north-east of Ava; and in our new acquisitions to the south of the Saluen, we found that on the three rivers which water the province of Martaban, the teak tree began to make its appearance as soon as the influence of the tides had ceased. The most convenient and accessible, if not the finest forest in the country, is that of Sarawadi, which furnishes nearly the whole of what is exported to foreign countries. Other considerable forests of teak

exist in the provinces of Lain, Tongo, Bassein, and Shwe-gyen; and the capital is supplied from a place called Mom-mai, fifteen days' journey on the Irawadi, above the capital. This last timber is smaller generally than that of Sarawadi, but equal to it in quality, and equally cheap; for I found on inquiry that timber of the same scantling cost at Ava only twenty-five per cent. more than in Sarawadi. The teak of Ava is considered less durable when employed in naval architecture than that of Malabar; but it has been determined by experiments carefully made in the arsenal of Fort William, to be stronger than the last, and therefore fitter for gun-carriages and machinery. Among the Burmese the wood most prized for its strength and durability, after the teak, is one called in their language Thingan; this is the *Hopæa odorata* of botanists, a large forest tree, very abundant in the lower provinces. It is used in boat-building, and the common canoes are often made of an entire tree of it, hollowed out. Another tree, highly esteemed in our Indian arsenals for the toughness and hardness of its wood, exists in great quantities and of large size on the sea-coast, and every where within the influence of the tides, its natural locality. This is the Soondry of India, and the *Heretiera robusta* of botanists. My friend Dr. Wallich, when I left him, had already discovered seven new species of oak, many of them fine forest trees, of which



the timber promises to be useful. Ava is not the natural country of firs, nor do I believe any tree of the pine family has been discovered to exist in any part of the country. Among the most useful products of the Burman forests may be named the bamboo, which, in the lower parts of the country, grows to an extraordinary size; occasionally, indeed, to the girth of twenty-three or twenty-four inches, so that joints of it make convenient vessels for drawing water from wells, and similar domestic uses. The *Mimosa catechu*, a tree rising to the height of thirty and forty feet, is very generally disseminated both in the forests of the upper and lower provinces. This affords the catechu or terra japonica, which in the Malay countries is yielded by a very different plant, the *Uncaria gambir*. From the mimosa the drug is obtained by boiling the wood cut down into chips and inspissating the produce. This rude manufacture is carried on throughout the country; but the produce of the upper provinces is clearer in colour, and finer, than that of the lower. The article is much used in the country, and largely exported, particularly to Bengal. The timber of the *Mimosa catechu*, which is often of large scantling, and that of other species of the same genus, all of which are strong, tough, and durable, are much employed for economical purposes, such as in the fabrication of ploughs, harrows, &c. Another useful produce

of the Burman forests, is the varnish from which the Shans and Burmese fabricate the lacquer ware already described. The finest kind is the produce of the country of the Shans. From the forests of the same country is obtained a large quantity of stick lac of excellent quality.

Burman Agriculture embraces the following productions : rice, maize, millet, wheat, various pulses, palms, sugar-cane, tobacco, cotton, and indigo. Rice (in Burmese, S'han,) is the great object of husbandry throughout the kingdom. The mode of cultivation in the upper provinces has been already noticed. Here the plough is used in turning up the soil, which is afterwards pulverized by means of a wooden cylinder between eight and nine cubits long, dragged and not rolled along the ground, and by a rude harrow. The rice is sown first in beds, and afterwards transplanted. Two crops a year are generally obtained, and occasionally three ; the best during the periodical rains, and the others through means of artificial irrigation ; a process conducted very rudely and expensively, being chiefly effected through manual labour. The best crops in the upper provinces seldom afford a return of above fifteen or twenty fold for the seed. In the alluvial lands of the southern provinces, the plough is rarely used. A rude harrow and the treading of cattle, when the earth is softened and reduced nearly to a puddle in the season of the



monsoon, prepare the ground sufficiently for the grain, which is sown broad-cast, and there is generally no subsequent transplanting. One crop only is taken from the land; but instead of a return of fifteen or twenty fold, fifty and sixty are not an unfrequent one; so that with less than one third the labour, the whole annual produce is at least equal to that of the upper provinces. The consequence of this is, that rice in the upper provinces is commonly at least fifty per cent. higher than in the lower, while the crops are much more precarious. It is, therefore, an article of export from the latter to the former.

Maize, in Burman Praong-bu, and Indian millet, or *Holcus sorghum*, are cultivated to a considerable extent in the upper provinces as winter or cold weather crops. Either from unsuitableness of soil, or unskilful culture, and perhaps indeed from both, the produce is small in comparison to that of other countries. For the first, the highest return given to me was one hundred fold for the seed; whereas, in other parts of the world, four hundred, and five hundred, are not unfrequent.—Wheat, which would probably not grow in the lower provinces, is grown, as before mentioned, in small quantities in the neighbourhood of the capital. The grain is of a good quality, and the returns ample; but as bread, this grain is no favourite with the Burmese. Shortly after the war, the British authorities at Rangoon direct-

ed a quantity of wheat to be sold, with the view of relieving the poor from a temporary scarcity. Although a much more valuable grain in India generally than rice, the Burmese would not give nearly the same price for it; and when compelled from necessity to use it, they boiled it whole as they would have done rice, being ignorant of any other mode of preparing it for food. Had the upper country been colonized by any of the western races of men, wheat, and not rice, would in all probability have constituted the chief object of husbandry.—The pulses most commonly cultivated are the *Phaseolus-max*, the *Dolichos Bengalensis*, the *Cicer arietinum*, and the *Arachis hypogæa* or ground nut. All of these are used for human food, and not given to cattle. The first two are the least productive, but the most esteemed. The third, commonly known to Europeans in the Bengal provinces by the name of gram, is doubly more productive than these, but it is a coarse pulse. It is known in the Burmese language by the name of Kula-pia, or “the western foreigners’ bean.” It is no doubt, therefore, an exotic, and in all likelihood was, like wheat, introduced from Bengal, in times too not very remote. The *Arachis* is cultivated, but in small quantities, and never on account of its oil, as in some other countries of the East. Pulses are chiefly cultivated in the upper provinces, and the *Cicer arietinum*, or gram, is exclusively con-



finer to these. The only oil-giving plant in the husbandry of the Burmese is the *Sesamum Indicum*, (N'han); but this is an object of very general culture throughout all the upper provinces. The oil is used by them in cookery, being their only substitute for butter; and where petroleum is high priced, it is burned. The oil-cake makes an useful provender for the working cattle in the dry season, when the arid lands of the upper provinces are parched, and the pasture scanty or destroyed.—Tea is cultivated on the hills by some of the mountain races, but it does not exist nearer Ava than five days' journey, and we consequently saw none of it growing. The best is grown by the race called D'hanu, whose country lies to the north-east of Ava, distant about ten days' journey. The leaves are elliptic, oblong, and serrated like the Chinese plant; and the Burmese, not following the practice of other nations, designate the latter by the native name of their own plant, Lap'het. There is little doubt, therefore, but that it is a genuine *Thea*, and most probably a native of the country. The Burmese eat the leaf prepared with oil and garlic, and never use the infusion as they do that of Chinese tea, which they call Lap'het-re, or tea-water.

The cocoa and areca palms are not very frequent in the southern provinces, even in the neighbourhood of the sea, where they might naturally be looked for; and as we proceed north-

ward, they become more and more scarce, until at the capital they are only to be seen as rarities. The upper provinces, however, abound in the palmyra, or *Borassus flabelliformis*, especially the arid country, extending for two hundred miles below the capital, where immense groves of it are cultivated. A cheap but impure sugar is obtained from the wine of this palm, which is a substitute for that of the cane, and universally consumed throughout the country, forming an article of considerable export from the upper to the lower provinces.

The sugar-cane, called Kran in the native language, seems to have been long known to the Burmese, but it is cultivated only in trifling quantities, to be eaten in its crude state; and the art of manufacturing sugar from it, is either not known, or not practised by them. Many parts of the country seem well suited to the growth of this plant, for the purpose of sugar; and if the Government were to give the same encouragement to the Chinese, as that of Siam does, sugar would, no doubt, soon become a valuable article of export; but in its present disposition, so wise and liberal a measure is hardly to be looked for.—Tobacco is chiefly cultivated in the upper provinces, of which the climate appears most suitable to it, and it is an article of import from thence to the lower. It requires, as usual, the best soils, and its growth is consequently confined to a few



particular districts. The name by which it is known to the Burmans, S'ha, implies, as in the Siamese language, "medicine." From this it may be inferred, that on its first introduction it was used medicinally, and held up, probably, as an infallible remedy.—Cotton, called Gwon in Burmese, is grown in every part of the kingdom, and in all its dependencies, but in greatest quantities in the dry lands and climate of the upper provinces. The texture is fine and silky, but the staple short. At the market of Dacca, it brings a higher price than the ordinary varieties of Indian cotton. The species universally cultivated, is the *Gossypium herbaceum*, or annual herbaceous kind, with a seed from which the wool is separated with difficulty.—Indigo, called, in the Burman language, Mai, is grown in every part of the kingdom, and is said to be an indigenous product. The culture is rude, and the manufacture still more so ; rendering the produce wholly unfit for exportation. The rich alluvial lands of the lower provinces are eminently well suited to the growth of this valuable plant, and, with a moderate share of protection, the manufacture might, no doubt, be carried on to a great extent. An intelligent Armenian merchant had commenced it in the district of Sarwa, when his enterprise was interrupted by the war. I am not aware of any other plant exclusively cultivated as a dyeing drug. The sapan-wood is the produce of the forests ;

safflower is imported from Bengal; and turmeric and the jack-tree are as much cultivated for culinary purposes, as for the dyes which they yield. In the upper provinces, a species of *Crotalaria* is cultivated for cordage, and in the southern provinces the rattan is the principal substitute.

The rudeness and barbarism of the Burmese appear no where more striking than in their gardening and horticulture. Green vegetables and fruits form a considerable portion of their diet, but a great part of them are culled from the forests and marshes, and are not the result of cultivation. The young shoots of the bamboo, wild asparagus, the succulent stems of a variety of aquatic plants and uncultivated arums, which, in other Asiatic countries, would hardly be deemed esculent at all, are among the most frequent vegetables to be met with in a Burman market. The flowers, which are so much used by the Burmese in their offerings at the temples, are very frequently the produce of the forest; and when exotics, of a culture as rude and negligent as possible. A similar observation applies to fruits, although, perhaps, not to the same extent. In the upper provinces, the yam, or *Dioscorea*, and the sweet potatoe, or *Batata*, are cultivated, but not extensively or generally. When the British army occupied the lower part of the country, I recollect, that the first of these roots was imported into Rangoon all the way from Malacca. The



common potato is wholly unknown to the Burmese. In the same manner, they are strangers to all our ordinary garden vegetables, such as peas, carrots, cabbages, turnips, mustard, cresses, radishes, &c. Even melons, cucumbers, and the egg-plant, so generally cultivated in other parts of India, are rare or little attended to in Ava. Onions are produced in some of the mountainous parts of the upper provinces, and imported from Lao. They are an article of trade to the lower provinces, where they are unknown as objects of culture. The capsicum is, after salt, the most general condiment used by the Burmese; and this hardy, productive, and cheap article, is universally cultivated in every part of the country. The most skilfully, and one of the most universally cultivated objects of Javanese gardening, is the betel pepper. In the damp climate of Pegu, it is grown with comparatively little care; but in the upper provinces it requires shade, irrigation, and attention.

In the cultivation of fruits, the Burmese are, I think, unquestionably below all their neighbours, and especially the Siamese. The varieties known to them are small, and no skill or pains are bestowed on their culture. The most common fruits are the mango, the orange, the pine, the custard apple, the jack, the papaya-fig, and the plantain. The mango, (in Burman, Tharet,)

is a fruit of which the quality depends greatly on the variety which is cultivated. The Burmese seem to practise little selection, and, of course, it is with them a very poor and indifferent fruit. There is one species of this genus, peculiar to Pegu, known to the Mohammedans of the country under the name of the Mariam. It is a small fruit, about the size and shape of a green-gage, and is much cultivated and prized by the natives, although little palatable to an European. The pine-apple is a very indifferent fruit in the upper provinces, but in Pegu it grows in great perfection, although receiving as little attention as if it were a denizen of the forest. In size and flavour it is equal to the best raised in this country, but inferior, in the first respect, to those produced nearer the equator, such as at Malacca and similar places. The name given to it by the Burmese, Annat, is the nearest approximation which their pronunciation will admit to the original one, and points at its foreign origin. The plantain, the papaya-fig, (*Carica papaja*), and the custard-apple, (*Psidium pomiferum*), being all hardy fruits, which require little care, and, indeed, grow almost spontaneously, are favourites with the Burmese; but of their kinds they are very indifferent. The durian and mangostin, *Durio* and *Garcinia mangostana*, are found no farther north than Tavoy, in latitude fourteen degrees. Their



names are a corruption of the Malay ones, from which there can be little doubt that they have been borrowed from the Indian islands.

The useful Quadrupeds domesticated by the Burmese are, the ox, the buffalo, the horse, and the elephant. Both oxen (Nwa) and buffaloes (Kuwe) are used throughout the country; but the latter greatly prevail in the lowlands, and the former in the upper. Both are of a very good description, and commonly in high order; indeed, the rural economy of the Burmans appears no where to so much advantage as in their care of these animals. With respect to oxen, the males are commonly emasculated, and these, for the most part, only are used in labour, the females being neither fed nor worked. The cost of rearing them is comparatively high; a circumstance to be accounted for, from the religious prejudice, which interdicts their use as food, and which, therefore, leaves no profitable means of disposing of the old or imperfect cattle. The buffalo, a more docile animal than the ox, except to strangers, is not emasculated, and both males and females are used in labour. In places congenial to it, it is also more easily reared than the ox, being satisfied with coarser pasture; and it is consequently much cheaper. Notwithstanding superior strength, however, the buffalo is slow, impatient of heat and drought, and therefore incapable of long-continued exertion. Its use is

therefore confined to agricultural labour; and the ox, whether for burthen or draught, is alone used in conveying goods and merchandize on long journeys.

The full-sized horse is unknown in Ava, as in every country of tropical Asia, east of Bengal. The Burman horses rarely exceed thirteen hands high. They are somewhat larger and stronger than the races of the Indian islands, but inferior to these in symmetry, spirit, and action. They are also much more costly. It is the general practice to castrate the males, which is contrary to the usage of the Indian islanders. Horses are rarely used by the Burmese as beasts of burthen, and never for draught; and their chief use is for the saddle. In the alluvial districts, where, indeed, there is seldom any footing for them, horses are rarely to be seen; but they prevail in every other part of the country, and appear to be most numerous in the hilly country of Lao, from whence they are brought for sale to the capital. The true Burman horse, however, is preferred to that of Lao.

Respecting the elephant, I have communicated in the Journal whatever came under my observation. In Ava, this animal is at present a mere object of royal luxury and ostentation; for, unless probably in Lao, I do not find that it is any where used as a beast of burthen; although, as such, it might, no doubt, be very advantageously em-



ployed in many parts of the country. The hog is domesticated among the Burmese, but being used only as a scavenger, and taken no care of, its habits are offensive and disgusting to the last degree. The dog is seen, unknown and uncared for, as in other parts of the East. These animals prowl about the villages unmolested, their numbers being kept down only by disease and famine. At the capital, they are the most miserable and half-starved creatures that can be imagined. Cats are numerous, and generally of a similar breed with the Malay cat; that is, having half a tail only; they are excellent mousers. The ass (Mré) the sheep (Tho), and the goat (S'hait), although apparently bearing native names, are little known in the domestic economy of the Burmese. About the capital there are a few goats and sheep, of a puny race, kept more for curiosity than use. I saw there also a few asses, which were ascertained to have been brought from China. The camel, although a beast of burthen sufficiently well suited to the upper portion of the country, is not known to the Burmese.

Of poultry, a few common fowls and ducks alone are reared, chiefly, I believe, for the purpose of being clandestinely sold to the Chinese, Christian, and Mohammedan residents.

In a country so abounding in deserts and forests, and so little under the dominion of man, wild animals and game are numerous. The

most remarkable quadrupeds are the elephant, rhinoceros, hog, deer, oxen and buffaloes, bears, otters, the tiger, leopard, with wild and civet cats. The elephant is found in all the deep forests of the country, from one extremity to the other, and is peculiarly abundant in those of Pegu. The varieties do not differ specifically from the common Asiatic elephant of naturalists, as was proved by the comparison of some teeth, which I brought home, with those of the Bengal elephant. The rhinoceros is the common Indian one, with a single horn. This animal is sufficiently abundant in the forests of Pegu, but probably less so than the elephant. Both are hunted by the Karyens, and their flesh held not only to be esculent, but delicate. The hog, as in other parts of the East, is spread all over the wild parts of the country. Several species of deer exist, such as the Indian roe and stag. The latter is more frequent in the forests of Pegu, than I have ever heard of its being in any other part of India. Notwithstanding their religion, these are hunted by the natives for their flesh. The common mode of doing so is as follows:—the hunters assemble in a large party in the grassy plains, which are the favourite haunt of the deer, and forming a circle, gradually contract it, until the terrified animals are reduced within a very small compass. A fence of very frail materials, but quite sufficient to confine them in their terror, is then constructed; and into these



the hunters enter, and cut down the game with their swords. A party of English gentlemen that had just returned from a hunting-party of this description, when I last visited Martaban, informed me that a surprisingly small number escaped over the fence, and that about thirty were killed. Another mode of hunting them was described to me by the natives. The hunter, in this case, goes into the forest, in a dark night, with a torch in one hand, and his sword in the other. The deer, attracted by the light, are said to come up to it fearlessly, and are cut down without difficulty. No species of the antelope is found in the Burman territory, not even in the dry plains of the upper country, where their appearance might have been looked for. Oxen and buffaloes are both of them natives of the Burman forests. The first are known by a distinct name (Saing) from the domesticated breed, but there is no good reason to believe that they differ specifically. Of the feline tribe, the royal tiger, the spotted leopard, and several species of cats, are numerous in the forests of Ava, especially in those of the southern provinces. It is remarkable, that none of the canine family, so frequent in the neighbouring country of Hindostan, are, so far as is known, to be found within the Burman dominions. There are neither wolves, jackals, foxes, nor hyenas; and this zoological

feature is said to extend to all the countries of tropical Asia lying east of Bengal.

Game is probably less abundant in the Burmese dominions than in Hindustan. The variety, however, is considerable. The hare is not known in Pegu, but makes its appearance in the high-lands before the disembogement of the Irawadi. It is a small animal, similar, in all respects, to the Indian hare. The flesh of both, in comparison with that of the European hare, is insipid. Of gallinaceous birds, the wild cock is very generally spread over the country. It is of the same species as the wild fowl of Hindustan, and is invariably an inhabitant of the forests, where it is to be found in coveys, like our partridge and moor game. Two species of pheasants, I imagine undescribed, are sufficiently numerous in the forests of Pegu. They are both small birds, and much inferior in size and beauty of plumage to the pheasants of China and Nepal. The other birds of this family ascertained to exist are the peacock, and some partridges and quails. The snipe, a bird which seems to abound in every part of the world where there are marshes, from the arctic to the antarctic circle, is sufficiently abundant in Ava. Geese and ducks, many of them birds of passage, are numerous in the upper provinces. In the lower the goose does not appear, and ducks are not numerous.



## CHAPTER VII.

Geographical Description—Limits and Extent.—General aspect.  
—Rivers—Lakes—Sea-coast and Harbours.—Civil Divisions.  
—Towns.—Population.—British Conquests.—Arracan, Martaban, Yé, Tavoy, and Mergui.

THE correct limits and real extent of the Burmese dominions are, as may well be supposed, unknown to Europeans; and, in general, I have nothing better than probable conjecture to offer on this important subject. The extreme Western limits may be described as extending as far as the  $93^{\circ}$  of east longitude, and the extreme Eastern as far as about  $98^{\circ} 40'$ . The utmost Southern limits are in latitude  $15^{\circ} 45'$  north, and the extreme Northern, probably between  $26^{\circ}$  and  $27^{\circ}$ . The extreme breadth of the country, therefore, comprises better than  $5\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  of longitude, and the extreme length, about  $11^{\circ}$  of latitude. We may conjecture that the area is, in round numbers, about 184,000 square miles, English. The present Burmese dominions are bounded to the South by the sea; to the West by Arracan, and by the petty states of Cassay, or Kathé, and Assam, or Athan; to the North and North-east by the Chinese province of

Yunan; and to the East by the independent and the Siamese portion of Lao.

The aspect of the country from the sea, up to the latitude of  $17\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , is low and champaign. From thence, to near the  $22^{\circ}$ , it is entitled to the denomination of hilly and elevated; and beyond this it is, from all accounts, decidedly mountainous. To the West and North-west, chains of mountains divide it from Arracan, Cassay, and Assam, often of great elevation. The Burman territory is watered by four considerable rivers; viz. the Saluen, the Setang, the Irawadi, and the Kyen-dwen, all of which have a southerly course, marking the character of the country as a plain, inclined from north to south. The first of these will afterwards be referred to. The Setang, where it is of great breadth, is rather a considerable arm of the sea than a river. Beyond the reach of the tides, it is, from all accounts, an inconsiderable stream; and even as low down as the town of Tongo, it is only navigable for boats. Its mouth is not only choked up with sand-banks, but is liable to a dangerous bore, so as to make its navigation impracticable for large, and difficult and precarious for any description of vessels.

The Irawadi, the largest river of Ava, is said to be navigable only for canoes at the town of B'hamó; which, according to the Burmese, is the same travelling distance from the city of Ava that Prome is, or about three hundred miles. Its



source, if I am rightly informed, cannot be traced to any one principal fountain, but to numerous petty streams coming from the mountains of Lao, and of the Chinese province of Yunan. I have described it in the Journal as being swollen by a few days' heavy rain; a proof, that above Ava it is a stream of no great magnitude, and that its source cannot be very remote. It may farther be added, that had it been navigable from China, the Chinese trade to Ava would naturally have been conveyed by it; whereas it is altogether conveyed by land, even from B'hamó to the Burman capital.\* From the town of Ava to its *debouchement*, the Irawadi receives no tributary stream of the least importance, except the Kyen-dwen, and does not throw off a single branch. Its *debouchement* commences shortly after it quits the hilly land of Ava and enters Pegu. It then throws off a great many branches of various magnitude, watering an immense extent of country, and affording a convenience of internal navigation, to which

\* In May and June 1827, Lieutenants Wilcox and Burlton crossed the Langtan mountains from Seddiya, and visited the Irawadi, in latitude about  $27^{\circ} 30'$ : this spot was represented to them by the natives as being about fifty miles to the south of its source, which consisted of numerous small streams, issuing out of lofty mountains covered with perpetual snow. At the spot they visited it, the river was but eighty yards broad. The conjectures thrown out in the text, respecting the origin of the Irawadi, were written before I became possessed of the information in this note.

there are few parallels in any country. It falls into the sea by not less than fourteen different channels.

The Kyen-dwen river, much inferior in size to the Irawadi, appears to have its origin in the mountains of Assam. It falls into the Irawadi in the latitude of  $20^{\circ} 35'$ , after running over five degrees of latitude in a course nearly south.

The Burman territory contains a great many lakes. Those in the lower provinces are numerous, but small. According to the native statements rendered to Captain Alves, there appear to be in the province of Bassein alone about one hundred and twenty-seven. The lakes of the upper country are much larger, and we had an opportunity of seeing several ourselves of considerable extent. There appears to be one, about twenty-five miles in a north-west direction from the capital, which is above thirty miles in length; but this is the largest in the country.

The Burman territory has about two hundred and forty miles of sea-coast, extending from the Cape of Negrais to that of Kyai-kami, or the new settlement of Amherst. The whole of this is low, marshy, and broken by at least twenty channels of rivers or arms of the sea. The greater number of these, exposed without protection to the open sea, and choked by sandbanks, are unfit for navigation. There are but three harbours; that of Martaban, of Rangoon, and Bassein. Of



these, the most convenient, in reference to a commercial intercourse with the interior of Ava, is Rangoon. This is situated on the most eastern branch of the Irawadi, or rather upon an arm of the sea, into which a branch of that river falls. It has at all seasons an uninterrupted intercourse with the main river; a circumstance which constitutes its principal advantage, and has naturally rendered it the emporium of the foreign trade. The river of Bassein is the most westerly branch of the Irawadi. This quits the main trunk of the river, a little way below the town of Henzada, and pursuing a south-south-westerly course, disembogues itself at Cape Negrais. The navigable portion of this river, however, like that of Rangoon, is more correctly an arm of the sea. It is practicable for vessels of burthen up to the town of Bassein, and for native trading-vessels to Lamena. Beyond this, however, it is a trifling stream, dry and impassable from November to May; during which period there is, of course, no communication with the main body of the Irawadi. This is the only inconvenience of the Bassein river, which is a more accessible, safer, and central port for foreign trade, than that of Rangoon. The harbour of Negrais, towards its entrance, at which the English once had a factory, is particularly convenient; and there is a safe channel for ships both to the east and west of the island which forms it.

The portions of the Burmese territory most distant from the capital are divided into provinces, or vice-royalties ; but the number of these seems to be variable and uncertain, and the civil power vested in their governors different. The most frequent civil division appears to be that into Myos, or townships. Of these, an old chief informed me, there were reckoned to be, in the whole empire, according to ancient usage, 4,600 ; which, I have no doubt, is a great exaggeration. In the Peguan portion of the empire, the number thirty-two seems a favourite ; and each of the provinces of Henzawati, Martaban, and Bassein, were said to contain this number of townships. On inquiry, however, neither Henzawati nor Martaban were found to contain half this number, and the actual number in Bassein was ascertained to be eight. Three of the townships of the last-named province were found, by actual enumeration, to contain two hundred and forty villages ; and if the remaining five contained a similar proportion, the whole villages of the province would amount to six hundred and forty. The whole province is computed to contain an area of 9,000 miles ; and as the empire contains 184,000, the total townships of the kingdom, supposing the proportions to be the same, would be, in round numbers, a hundred and sixty-three, and the villages about 1300. This is, indeed, a very rough estimate ; but in the imperfect and crude state of



our information, I know no better means of attaining an approximation to the truth.

The towns of the Burman empire, but many of which, however, are little better than large villages, amount, from the best information which I could obtain, to about thirty-two. Of the population of the seven following, a conjectural estimate has been formed as follows:—

Ava, Amarapura, and Sagaing, with their suburbs and districts,	. 354,200
Rangoon, probably increased since its re-occupation to	. 12,000
Prome	. 8,000
Bassein	. 3,000
Martaban	. 1,500

Of the remainder, the following are the names; viz. Moksobo, B'hamó, Nyaong-ran, Moné, Thingnyi, Kyaong-taong, Debarain, Badong, Salen, or Thalen, Pugan, Badüain, Tongo, Kyaok-mo, Ramathain, Mait'hila, Sagú, Légaing, Maindaong, Shwe-gyen, Patanago, Melun, Myadé, Kyaongmyo, and Sitaong. The following slender notices have been collected respecting a few of these:—Moksobo, commonly called by Europeans, Monchabo, is distant from Ava twenty-six taings, or about fifty-two miles, in a north-west direction, and by a very tolerable carriage-road. It is a walled town, and still a place of considerable population and traffic. In the year of the Burman vulgar era, 1115, corresponding with the year of

Christ 1756, Alompra, who was a native of the place, made it his capital, giving it the Pali name of Ratna-thingha, or “the gem lion.” B’hamó is said to be a hundred and twenty-five taings distant from Ava, in a direction east of north. This is the principal mart of the Chinese trade, and contains, among its resident inhabitants, a good many Chinese of Yunan. It is surrounded by a wooden stockade, and its governor, one of the most considerable of the kingdom, exercises the powers of a viceroy. Debarain lies west-north-west of Ava, at the distance of thirty-six taings, or seventy-two miles. This place is surrounded by a brick-wall, and is the principal town of a populous province, which, I was told, contained 900,000 Pés of cultivated land. The inland town of Badong, the chief place of a district of the same name, as, indeed, is the case with all other Burmese towns, lies west of Ava, on the right bank of the Irawadi, and distant thirty taings, or three days’ journey.\* It is surrounded by a wall of brick. A village of the same district, called Naparen, is celebrated as the birth-place of the Burmese general Bandula. The town of Tongo, fortified by a brick-wall, is said to be a place considerable for its traffic and population. It lies south of Ava; is distant from it a hundred taings, and

\* The Burmese reckon a day’s journey to be ten taings, or about twenty miles.



fifty from the old town of Pegu; or, as it is more correctly written, Bagó. Tongò is situated on the Setang river. In the dry season, boats of four cubits beam, and carrying two hundred baskets of rice—that is, boats of five tons burthen—can go up as far as the town. In the wet season, the largest trading Burman vessels can ascend it. This place is said to have under its jurisdiction fifty-five townships. Ramathain is a large town, half-way between Ava and Tongo, or fifty taings distant from each. Mait'hila, another considerable place on the same road, is distant from Ava forty taings. The town of Kyaong-myo, fortified by a brick-wall, lies thirty taings above Ava, on the right bank of the Irawadi.

All the towns now enumerated lie within the proper country of the Burmese. In that portion of Lao, or the country of the Shans, which is tributary to the Burmans, the most considerable towns are Moné and Thing-nyi. Moné is said to be one of the largest towns of the kingdom, and a place of trade. This is the residence of a Burmese chief, who superintends the affairs of the tributary Shans. Thing-nyi is also a considerable place, lying on the immediate borders of the Siamese portion of Lao.

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The population of the Burman empire, before the loss of Arracan, of its conquests to the Northwest, and of the provinces South of the Saluen

river, was estimated, by former European inquirers, as high as seventeen millions, as nineteen millions, and even as thirty-three millions. The area of the country would then have been about 268,000 square miles; so that the lowest of these estimates would have given above sixty-three inhabitants to the square mile, the second of above seventy, and the third of a hundred and twenty-three. When it is considered that the greater part of the country is still in a state of nature; that the inhabitants are in a semi-barbarous state, possessing neither agricultural, commercial, or manufacturing industry; that they have lived for ages in a state of war or anarchy; that they are egregiously misgoverned; and, finally, that in a fertile territory and favourable climate, where there is room for a dense population, the effectual wages of labour are not low, as in fully-peopled countries, but high, as in thinly-inhabited ones, it is impossible to believe but that such estimates are greatly over-rated.

We are at present in possession of a few facts, which may lead us to more reasonable conjectures. The provinces South of the Saluen river, depopulated by oppression and consequent emigration, cannot fairly be taken as a standard for the whole empire. Arracan, computed to contain about seven inhabitants to the square mile, will probably make a nearer approach to it. Were the whole Burman territory, then, peopled only in the ratio



of this province, it would contain, in round numbers, only 1,380,000 inhabitants. Arracan, however, was a conquered and an ill-governed province, and considerable emigrations from it had taken place into the British territory, so that I have no doubt this estimate is much under the truth. The only portion of the restored provinces, of which an estimate of the area and population was made during our occupation, was Bassein.\* The area of this district was reckoned at 9,000 square miles, and the population, according to the Burmese records, at 214,500, which would give near twenty-four inhabitants to the square mile. This rate, applied to the whole kingdom, would give a population of 4,416,000. About thirty years ago, a house-tax was levied on the dwellings of the two great classes of the population, the Burmese and Talains. The amount was thirty-three ticals and a half on each house, and the produce 4,000,000 of ticals. This would make the number of houses 120,000. The houses of all persons in public employment, and the monasteries, however, are not taxed, and through the malversation of the chiefs, it is reckoned that about a tenth of the produce is withheld. This last circumstance would raise the gross amount of the tax to 4,400,000, and, consequently, the number

\* Made by Captain Alves, the able and intelligent officer whom I have before quoted.

of houses to 132,000. There is another element, however, to be taken into the calculation. The Burmese, for the express purpose of evading such a tax as this, often run two or even three houses into one. According to the Burmans, each house is reckoned at seven inhabitants; but if we add to these, priests and public functionaries, making, at the same time, some allowance for houses omitted, for the reason just mentioned, the number will probably not be over-rated at twelve, which will give a population of 1,584,000. To complete the population of the kingdom, it would be necessary to add the inhabitants of the tributary States—the Karyens, the Kyens, and other wild or unsettled races. We have, however, in this statement, the effectual strength of the population; the most civilized, and also the most numerous class of the inhabitants. The number of Karyens and Kyens in the province of Bassein, has been estimated, from the Burmese records, at 40,600. Were there, therefore, a similar proportion of the wild races throughout the rest of the empire, their total number would amount, in round numbers, to 830,000. This, added to the last result, would give a total population, exclusive of tributaries, of little short of 2,414,000.

In the Journal, I have attempted to estimate the population from the quantity of petroleum which is consumed; this article, wherever procurable, being universally used by all classes for



burning, to the exclusion of oil, wax, or tallow. Petroleum is obtained only at one spot, and here pays a money duty to the Government of five in one hundred. The yearly tax collected, according to the statement of the farmer, amounts to 25,000 ticals; but he reckoned himself to lose by smuggling 8,000 ticals, making the amount of the duty which should be paid, 33,000 ticals. The value of the whole petroleum, according to this statement, would be 660,000 ticals. The price of the oil on the spot is estimated at three ticals per hundred viss, so that the annual produce will be about 22,000,000 of viss. A considerable quantity of this is used in house and boat-building, which we shall estimate at a fourth part, which reduces the quantity used for burning to 16,500,000. At the capital, the average consumption of a family is estimated, according to the circumstances of the parties, to be from twenty to forty viss per annum. This is at the distance of about two hundred miles from the wells, and against the stream of the river. The average would give an annual consumption of thirty viss, but it will be safer to assume it at the lower estimate of twenty-five. This will make the whole number of families using it 660,000, and reckoning each family (not house) at five persons, we shall have a population of 3,300,000.

I should observe, that petroleum is universally used, wherever the navigation of the Irawadi and Kyen-dwen, with their tributary streams, will

allow of its being conveyed; and that it is also carried, to a considerable extent, by land-carriage. It is universally consumed in Pegu, from Bassein to Martaban, and throughout the whole of Upper Ava, embracing the greatest portion of the area of the kingdom, and unquestionably all the best inhabited part of it.

Upon a consideration of the imperfect statements now offered, I am disposed not to rate the population of the Burman empire higher than four millions, or about twenty-two inhabitants to the square mile; an estimate which best accords with the rude and imperfect state of government and society, which so strikingly characterises the country.

This is, indeed, a miserable population for a great country, possessing a good climate, a fertile soil, navigable rivers, and convenient harbours. The great check to population is bad government, in the form of wars, insurrections, anarchy, ill-administered laws, and oppressive taxation. Famines do not appear to have been frequent, and such as have occurred are rather to be ascribed to civil and political causes than to the soil or climate. Epidemic disorders are neither very frequent nor fatal. The small-pox, and of late years cholera, are probably the only maladies which materially check the increase of population. The plague, the scourge of Eastern Europe, and Western Asia, is unknown; and malignant and fatal fevers



were predominant only in Arracan, now no longer a part of the empire.

Prudential motives have little influence among the Burmans in repressing the increase of population. Marriages are contracted nearly as early as in other Eastern countries; and, with the exception of the priesthood, few persons of either sex are to be found living in a state of celibacy after the age of seventeen or eighteen. Prostitution is not common; and infanticide, and other unnatural practices for repressing population, are not, that I am aware of, known. As to the continuance of child-bearing, it is just the same as in other parts of the world, beginning with the age of puberty, and ending between forty and fifty. The Burmans, in their public records, reckon a family as high as seven individuals, which would seem to imply that numerous families are reared by them. The effectual price of labour varies considerably in different parts of the country, but is everywhere high. It is lowest at the capital and its neighbourhood, where the land is of inferior fertility: the country comparatively well inhabited, and much good land yielding rent under cultivation. There the wages of common field-labour are about fourteen shillings a-month, or eight pounds eight shillings a-year; and the ordinary price of rice, the chief bread-corn throughout the kingdom, about six shillings per cwt. Twelve baskets of rice, or about six cwts., are allowed by

the Burmese for the yearly food of a labouring man ; but a year's labour will purchase twenty-eight cwts., leaving the value of twenty-two cwts. for the other necessary articles of food, for clothing and house-rent, and leaving a considerable balance for rearing and maintaining a family. The wages of labour at Rangoon are higher, and the price of corn and other articles of food smaller. A day-labourer here receives at the rate of twelve pounds a-year, and the price of rice does not usually exceed three shillings per cwt. At Martaban, the wages of labour are as high as at Rangoon ; and the price of rice is generally not higher than twelve shillings per cwt. At Bassein a day-labourer receives, as at Ava, about fourteen shillings a-month, but the price of rice is only one-half. Artisans, such as carpenters and blacksmiths, receive about one-third more wages than boatmen, or other common labourers. Flesh, although by no means rejected, is seldom used by the Burmese of any rank ; but fish, in various forms, is universally consumed ; and the ordinary condiments throughout the country are capsicum and salt. The retail price of salt, in the lower provinces, may be quoted at about four shillings and three pence per cwt.; of pickled fish the same, and of dry fish, about eighteen shillings. In the upper provinces, all these articles, as well as fuel, and the materials of house-building, are much more costly. These rates of the price of labour may be com-



pared to those of our old and densely peopled provinces in Hindustan. A day-labourer in Bengal will hardly earn three pounds a-year; and the cost of rice is nearly the same as in the lower provinces of the Burman empire; salt, fish, and house-rent, being much higher. An instructive example of the beneficial effect of high wages is afforded by comparing wages at Calcutta and Rangoon. A carpenter, of the best description, at Calcutta, earns only twenty shillings a-month, while one at Rangoon will earn thirty. The wages of the native of Bengal will purchase about eight hundred pounds of rice; that of the Burman, about eleven hundred and twenty. Beggary, as may be readily inferred from these statements, is very unfrequent among the Burmese; and, with the exception of the voluntary mendicancy of the priesthood, is confined to a few unfortunate persons, driven to it more by superstition than necessity.

Under the very favourable circumstances now described, nothing seems wanting to insure a great increase of population in the Burmese dominions, but a moderate share of peace, tranquillity, and security. In the cessions made to ourselves, those benefits may be safely calculated upon; and in such of them as enjoy the advantage of a good climate and fertile soil, we may, with some abatement for the stubborn habits of a semi-barbarous people, expect to see here a rapidity of increase in

population, more resembling that of an American colony, than what we have been accustomed to in our old Indian possessions. The capital and example of strangers will not only accelerate this increase, but insure its being accompanied by improvement.

In the mean while, it is some satisfaction to find that the high rate of wages among the Burmese tends greatly to mitigate the despotism, which, by repressing population, gives rise to it. Owing to high wages, and probably to this alone, the labouring classes are, upon the whole, well-fed, clad, and housed; a fact which is soon observed by a stranger, and, taking place under such apparently inauspicious circumstances, appears at first view so unaccountable. In fact, the Burmese peasantry are in more comfortable and easy circumstances than the mass of the labouring poor in any of our Indian provinces; and, making allowance for climate, manners, and habits, might bear a comparison with the peasantry of most European countries. As long as land capable of yielding corn with little labour continues to bear the same large proportion to the population as at present, the government cannot rob the peasantry of the mere wages of personal labour; nay, its interference tends only to enhance or insure them. The scantiness of the population is in this manner an advantage to the people. Were the country, for example, inhabited in the same



ratio as the neighbouring one of Hindustan generally, it would contain about one hundred inhabitants to the square mile ; or its population would be 20,000,000, or five times more than its present amount. Were it peopled in the same proportion as Bengal, that part of India to which in soil and climate it bears the closest analogy, it would contain double this number, or ten times the number of its present inhabitants. The consequence of this would be, supposing no corresponding improvement in the government, that wages falling, and the price of corn rising, the people would be reduced to a state of poverty and misery, of the most abject and degrading description. That such is not now the case, but, on the contrary, that labour is well rewarded, affords of itself a sufficient presumption, that former estimates of the populousness of the country were prodigiously exaggerated.

The great diversity of tribes or nations occupying the territory of Ava, differing in language—often in religion, manners, and institutions, affords a proof at once of the scantiness of population, and of the uncivilized condition of the inhabitants. The Burmans themselves are said to be divided into seven tribes, but these are in reality nearly distinct nations. Their names are as follow :—Mranma, or the proper Burmese ; Talain, or the Peguans ; Rakaing, or the Arracanese ; the Yau, a people residing to the westward

of the Kyendwen river, in about the parallel of Ava; the Taong-su, a migratory people, whose haunts are between the Setang and Saluen rivers; the people of Tavoy, and the Karyens. Next to these come the Shans, or people of Lao, who speak nearly the same language as the Siamese, and are spread over the whole of the eastern and north-eastern frontier.

The wilder races, claiming no affinity with the Burmese, or Siamese, are the Zabaing, the Kyen, the Palaon, the Pyu, the Lenzen, the Lawá, the D'hanu, the D'hanao, and the Zalaung. To these, before the cessions to the British, might be added the Chalom and the Pasá: of most of these races little is known beyond their names, or occasional place of residence. Some of them live in a savage state in the mountains, while others, as the Karyen, the Zabaing, and even the Kyen, are little less civilized than their conquerors. The Karyen and Kyen appear to be the most numerous and the most improved, and are chiefly occupied in agriculture. The former, especially, raise in the Peguan provinces, the greater quantity of the rice which is consumed. Notwithstanding this disposition to agricultural employment, so great is the quantity of good unoccupied land, and so simple are their own habits, that they have no local attachments, and are easily induced to move their habitation from one part of the country to another in search of better



lands, of healthier situations, or from mere caprice. None of the tribes now described have adopted the Budd'hist religion, and they all speak dialects, if not languages, distinct from the Burman. But, perhaps, the most remarkable circumstance connected with the existence of these tribes, especially of the most considerable of them, is, that they do not occupy particular districts or provinces exclusively, but are scattered all over the kingdom, living in the midst of, but not intermixing or associating with the more civilized inhabitants. Thus situated, they live under the government of their own chiefs, preserving their peculiar customs, manners, and language, and rather paying tribute to, than being under the direct dominion of the Burmans. Under these they accept of no public trust, and they refuse to perform for them military and all other services.

The strangers sojourning, or naturalized, in the Burman dominions are, natives of Cassay, Siamese, Cochin-Chinese, Chinese, Hindus of Western India, Mohammedans, and some Christians. The natives of Cassay, originally captives, but now generally as free as the rest of the inhabitants, form a very considerable proportion of the population of the capital. They are much employed as weavers, blacksmiths, and other artificers, and have commonly formed the cavalry of the Burmese armies. The Siamese are, like the Cassays, captives, or the descendants of captives. Their

Wun, or the Burmese chief who has charge of them, informed me that they amounted in all to sixteen thousand. The Cochin-Chinese amount to one thousand persons, according to the statement of their Wun, or chief, who was unable, however, to state to me under what circumstances this colony had first settled in the Burmese capital. I imagine, however, that the first settlers were prisoners carried off when the Siamese capital was sacked by the Burmese, and during other incursions into Siam.

The number of Chinese settlers at the Burmese capital was stated to me to amount in all to no more than three thousand two hundred; viz. three thousand for Amarapura, and two hundred for Ava and Sagaing, between them. In other towns of the empire, where there is any thing like trade, a few also are to be found; and, as stated elsewhere, some are engaged in working silver-mines within the dominions of Ava. Upon the whole, the number is extremely trifling, compared to the crowd of settlers of this nation found at the Siamese capital, and throughout the rest of that country. Political distrust, arising out of the neighbourhood of China, has, no doubt, a share in discouraging the settlement of the Chinese in Ava. The Chinese settlers, or sojourners here, are not only fewer in number, but inferior in enterprize, intelligence, and industry, to the class known in Siam and the Malay countries.



They are, for the most part, from the province of Yunan, and are all merchants or traders; no persons of the class of day-labourers or artisans settling in Ava from that province. At the Burman capital are to be found a few Chinese settlers from the province of Canton, who have found their way thither from the European settlements, through the route of Rangoon. Owing to the superior skill and industry of artisans of this class, a carpenter among them, for example, will earn fifteen ticals a-month at the capital, while a Burmese will barely earn one-third of that amount. The Hindus residing at Ava are, for the most part, Bramins, or persons so designating themselves. They are natives of the Eastern parts of Bengal, and not, as in Siam, settlers from the Southern parts of India. They are considerable in point of numbers, and generally preserve their national languages, manners, religion, and costume.

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The cessions made by the Burmese to the British Government, in 1826, contain an estimated area of 48,800 English miles. This territory is occupied by men distinct in race, and differing widely in civilization, from the inhabitants of any of the previous conquests of the British nation in India; and therefore a succinct account of it may not be unacceptable. It consists of the following parts; the kingdom of Ar-

racan, divided into four provinces ; a part of the province of Martaban ; and the entire provinces of Ré, or Yé, Tavoy, and Mergui.

Arracan is divided from Pegu and Ava by a natural barrier of mountains, running in a continued range from North to South, called by the different names of Yaoma and Bokaong. Their termination is at the Cape of Negrais, called, in the Burman language, the Promontory of Manten, in about  $16^{\circ}$  north latitude ; but the limit of their origin is very uncertain. They seem to be of primary formation, chiefly composed of slate and granite ; and their highest peaks, while bounding Arracan, vary in height from two hundred to eight thousand feet. To the South and West, Arracan is bounded by the Bay of Bengal and the Naf river ; and it is separated in the last-named quarter, and the North, from the Bengal province of Chittagong, by the Naf river and Waili hills. Arracan has been computed to contain sixteen thousand square English miles. Its provinces or subdivisions are, Arracan, correctly Rakaing, to the north ; Ramri, to the south of Arracan ; Sandawey, properly Than-dwa, to the south of Ramri ; and the island of Cheduba, called by the Burmese, Manaong. Each of these, under the Burman administration, had its own separate Myowun, or governor. The greater portion of Arracan consists either of high mountains or very low lands, the latter nearly marshes, and



both, for the most part, covered with thick woods, presenting the aspect of a country nearly in a state of nature. The coast is broken by shallow arms of the sea, and contains no good harbour conveniently situated for trade, while it is skirted throughout by shoals and dangers, rendering it inaccessible during one half of the year, and at all times precarious or dangerous. The great river of Arracan is said to have its origin about the twenty-third degree north. After passing through three degrees of latitude, it disembogues itself by several mouths, of which the channels are impeded by bars, numerous sand-banks and islands. To foreign commerce, therefore, at least, it is never likely to be of much service, nor does the nature of the country, through which it passes, appear, in an agricultural view, to be of a very improveable character.

The experience of all the invaders of Arracan, Mohammedan, Burman, and European, warrants the conclusion that it is, upon the whole, one of the most unhealthy places of any extent in the East. The periodical rains are extremely heavy, and continue from April to November, leaving scarcely five dry months in the year. This, with the extent of the woods and marshes, makes the climate decidedly wet and moist; but this will not account for its unhealthiness; for many parts of Pegu, which are equal in salubrity to any Indian climate, are similarly circumstanced. It

may, therefore, be suspected that it is the barrier of mountains behind Arracan, which, impeding a free circulation of air, causes the poisonous miasmata, that are the sources of the bad remittent fever, which is the prevailing epidemic.

No mines of the precious or useful metals are wrought in this country, nor am I aware that any considerable deposits of them are even ascertained to exist; neither are there any other valuable minerals. Teak, although existing on the Pegu side of the great range of mountains, is not found in any part of Arracan. From the nature of the country, rice is the commodity for the production of which it is most suitable; and during the Burman administration, the upper parts of Ava appear to have drawn considerable supplies from it. Salt, obtained by boiling sea-water, after concentration by solar evaporation, is manufactured on the coast; but from the shortness of the dry and hot season, not exceeding two months, under very unfavourable circumstances, so that the commodity is both high-priced and impure. The esculent swallow's nest is found in Arracan in considerable quantity; a matter not to be looked for so far north. Some of them were shown to me at Calcutta, and they appeared white, and well suited to the Chinese market.

Under the Burmese government, the net revenue remitted yearly to Ava in specie, after discharging the expenses of administration, was one



hundred and forty visas, or fourteen thousand ticals, equal to about one thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds. But some revenue was also paid in kind; and there were, as elsewhere, *corvées* and military services.

The Arracanese are essentially the same people as the Burmese, speaking, with a few verbal exceptions, and with immaterial difference of pronunciation, the same language; having the same manners, the same institutions, and the same religion. The Burmese themselves, indeed, trace their language and origin to Arracan, and often call it "the old country." At present, at least, they are a people of less intelligence and energy than the Burmese; or, in other words, are considerably less civilized. The wretched condition of a long occupied country is best shown by the ratio of population to the extent of territory. Its area of sixteen thousand miles is reckoned, by a computation made by us since its conquest, to contain a population of no more than 120,000 souls, or about seven inhabitants to the square mile. This population is said to consist of the following races, and in the following proportions: — Arracanese six-tenths; Mohammedans from India, or their descendants, three-tenths; and Burmese, one-tenth.

Our conquests from the Burmese to the eastward and southward of Pegu are not only of greater extent, but promise to be more valuable

acquisitions than Arracan. Their most northerly limit is between the nineteenth and twentieth degrees of latitude, and is defined where the great chain of mountains, dividing them from Siam, terminates in the left bank of the Saluen river. Their southern limit is generally considered to extend to the eleventh degree of north latitude, so that the extreme length of our territory is about five hundred geographical miles. The most westerly point is the promontory on which the new settlement of Amherst lies, and which is opposite to the island of Balú. This, according to many good observations of Jupiter's satellites, made by Captain Grant of the Surveyor-General's department, lies in the longitude of  $97^{\circ} 35'$ . Their most easterly point can only be conjectured, but certainly does not extend beyond the  $99^{\circ}$ . This would give an extreme breadth of about eighty-five geographical miles. The medium breadth, however, is far less than this; and considering that we share with the Siamese the peninsula between the Bays of Bengal and Siam, forming so considerable a portion of the whole territory, probably does not exceed fifty miles. These measurements would give the whole continental part of the territory an area of about 32,800 English miles. To this, however, must be added a great number of islands, some of them of considerable size. The area of these will not be over-rated at a thousand square miles, making the whole



territory 33,800. To the south, the east, and the north, we have the Siamese for our neighbours, along a frontier of not less than six hundred miles, formed almost every where by a high chain of mountains, covered with forests, and which has extensive tracts of uninhabited country on both sides of it.

The Saluen river constitutes every where our western boundary with the Burmans. The frontier here is, probably, about a hundred and forty miles in length. In every other direction the Bay of Bengal forms our boundary, giving us a sea-coast of between three and four hundred miles in extent.

Beginning from the northern portion of our territory, the navigable rivers within it are, the Saluen, the Gain, the Ataran, the Wagru, the Yé, the Tavoy, and the Tennaserim. Of these, the Saluen, or, as the name is correctly written, the Than-lwen, has by far the longest course, and conveys the largest body of water. It appears to be the Louk-iang of the Chinese, and to have its source in the province of Yunan. It then passes successively through the territories of Lao and Siam, enters that of the Burmese between the 19th and 20th degrees of north latitude, and dis-embogues itself by two channels, separated from each other by the island of Balú. The most southerly of these falls into the sea, nearly in the latitude of 16 degrees, where its mouth is not less

than seven miles broad. The northern channel is said to be still wider; but it is full of shoals, and impracticable for shipping. The Saluen river, notwithstanding the length of its course, cannot rank, for size or utility, with many of the greater Asiatic rivers. It is, indeed, of sufficient breadth; but its channel is generally shallow, and so obstructed by islands, shoals, and rapids, that, with the exception of probably about an hundred miles from its mouth, it is not navigable for any description of vessels, and its mouth alone is navigable for shipping of burthen.

The Gain falls into the Saluen at the town of Martaban, and is supposed to have its origin in the chain of hills which divides the province of Martaban from the Siamese territory. Its course is south-west. It is a stream of considerable breadth, but little depth; its channel being a good deal obstructed by islands and sand-banks.

The Ataran, like the Gain, has its source in the hilly region dividing our territory from that of Siam. This is a narrow, deep, and sluggish stream: its whole course, until it falls into the Saluen, like the Gain, a little above the town of Martaban, may be about one hundred miles. I went above seventy miles up in the steam-vessel *Diana*, when the water was at the lowest, without experiencing the least difficulty. The river, above that distance, became suddenly a mere mountain brook. The tide in all these rivers



runs up a hundred miles from the sea; and to this distance the navigation for boats and small craft is extremely safe, easy, and commodious. In the most unfavourable season of the year, steam-vessels, whose draught does not exceed five or six feet water, may navigate them with perfect safety for a hundred miles from the sea. The course of all three within the Martaban district is through a champaign country of great fertility, and presenting unusual encouragement for agricultural industry.

The Wagu, or Kalyen river, is much smaller than either the Gain or Ataran, and its source is not probably above twenty-five or thirty miles from the sea. It passes generally through a hilly country. I went eighteen miles up this river. For ten miles it is navigable for ships of the largest burthen; and the lower part of it, which is but a mile from the port of Amherst, forms one of the finest and safest harbours in India. The banks of this river are supposed to be the most favourable situation in the provinces for ship-building, and the construction of dock-yards.

The river of Ye, the mouth of which is between the latitude of  $15^{\circ}$  and  $16^{\circ}$ , and which is exposed, unprotected, to the ocean, is but an inconsiderable stream. It is accessible but to native craft and boats, and this only in the N. E. or fine monsoon.

The Tavoy river has its source near the latitude

of  $15^{\circ}$ , and disembogues itself in about  $13^{\circ} 30'$ , running a course nearly due south, and parallel with the direction of the peninsula. It passes through a narrow valley between two ranges of hills. This is a broad but shallow stream, and the navigation is interrupted by many islands, shoals, and sand-banks. The town, situated on the left bank of the river, is about thirty-five miles from the sea. Vessels of one hundred and twenty tons burthen, but not larger, can reach it.

The Tennaserim, or Mergui river, is said to have its source between the fifteenth and sixteenth degrees of latitude, and, like the Tavoy river, runs from north to south until it reaches opposite to Mergui, when it makes a sudden turn to the westward, and disembogues itself by two mouths, the most northerly of which is a safe channel for shipping, and lies in the latitude of  $12^{\circ} 12'$  north. It is said to be navigable for boats for one hundred miles, and European vessels of moderate burthen may ascend it for thirty.

The great range of mountains, which divides our provinces from Siam, is said to be generally from three to five thousand feet high, and chiefly composed of granite. The general character of the Martaban province is that of a champaign country, or at least, the plains greatly exceed in extent the hilly land. There are, however, here and there some low ranges of quartz rock, and a considerable number of insulated steep and pic-



turesque rocks of blue lime-stone. The districts of Yé and Tavoy may generally be described as mountainous. The valleys or plains are very few in number, and there is no considerable one except that through which the Tavoy river flows, and even this does not appear to be of any very great breadth.

The aspect of the Mergui district is still more hilly than that of Tavoy, and the valleys narrower. Even that, through which the Tennaserim river flows, is scarcely of greater breadth than sufficient to afford this stream a free passage. The geological formation of this district is almost universally granitic.

The archipelago of islands, which skirt our coasts so thickly, does not properly commence until about the latitude of  $14^{\circ} 30'$ , and therefore belongs correctly to Tavoy and Mergui, leaving the shores of Yé and Martaban an open and exposed sea. These islands are all hilly or mountainous, and generally composed of granite, with an occasional intermixture of lime and sand-stone.

The new territory is better furnished with harbours than any other portion of the Bay of Bengal, there being three very good ones on the main land within the compass of four degrees of latitude, besides one or two among the islands. The best and securest harbour, without reference, however, to commercial convenience, is that of Mergui, in about latitude  $12^{\circ}$ . This will admit vessels

of almost any burthen, and the ingress and egress are perfectly safe at all times. The river of Tavoy contains a good harbour, at about the distance of ten miles from its entrance; but above that, and to the town, it is shallow, and the navigation intricate, being unfit for vessels of large burthen, and not very easy even for small craft. As parts of commerce, the greatest inconvenience attending Tavoy and Mergui, arises from the chain of islands skirting the whole coast before them. These, during the finest part of the year, make calms and light winds very prevalent, so that the navigation becomes in consequence extremely tedious and precarious, unless for steam vessels. The harbour of Amherst, formed as already described by the promontory, which lies at the eastern entrance of the Martaban river, is not liable to this disadvantage. Its inconvenience consists in the narrowness of the navigable channel into it, and this channel crossing the tide. During the six fine months of the year, however, ingress and egress are perfectly safe and easy; and in the boisterous season, many vessels of burthen have frequented it without meeting with any serious accident, so that in all probability experience will show that the objections to it are rather in theory than practice. Both in respect to safety and expedition, it is at all events far superior to the ports of London and Calcutta, or even of Liverpool. Its great advantages, however, are its immediate



vicinity to a fertile territory, with an extensive inland navigation, and its connexion with the Irawadi, which opens to it a communication with territories much more extensive than that of its immediate neighbourhood.\*

In regard to climate, I can speak, from personal observation, only of that of Martaban. The south-west monsoon and the rains set in here together, about the beginning of May. In that month both are comparatively mild. They are severest in the months of June, July, and August, when there are frequent hard squalls and very heavy rain, especially during the spring tides. In September the winds and rain moderate. In October they are still milder, and in the beginning of November they cease, and the cold weather sets in, which continues until the end of February. In January, I found the thermometer fall in the morning before sun-rise, at Amherst, to sixty-four degrees, and at night blankets were found comfortable. The warmest month is April; but even then the thermometer, in the hottest hour of the day, rarely rises to ninety degrees. In a climate so moist, and a country so covered with luxuriant vegetation, hot winds are unknown. In

\* Fitch, who visited Martaban two hundred and forty years ago, describes it as a place of much trade. Captain Hamilton, whose statement refers to the year 1709, states that the Burmans, in their wars with Pegu, had sunk vessels in the river, and thus injured its navigation.

the dry season there prevail on the coast regular land and sea-breezes, and in the rains the strength of the south-west monsoon prevents the air from being close or oppressive. The report of the native inhabitants is in favour of the salubrity of these provinces, especially of Martaban and Mergui. Our own short experience seems to confirm this opinion. I have not, indeed, heard of any spot or place in our southern provinces remarkable for the existence of concentrated miasma—the source of those malignant remittent fevers and dysenteries, which are endemic in many parts of India. The only malignant complaint which has prevailed amongst our troops, has been ulcer of the lower limbs, confined to natives of India, and, in all likelihood, chiefly to be ascribed to temporary hardships and privations.

The only useful minerals, of which the existence is ascertained in the territories now under description are, lime, iron, antimony, and tin. Blue mountain lime-stone, affording the whitest quick-lime I ever saw, is widely and generally distributed over the plains of Martaban, forming those detached rocks to which I have already alluded. An ore of magnetic iron has been found in Tavoy; stream tin is found in Tavoy and Mergui; and a rich ore of antimony in quartz rock in Martaban.

The most valuable of the rude productions of the new territory is teak-timber. The teak is



found only in the province of Martaban; but the forests here are of great extent, and from the careful and scientific examination of Dr. Wallich, are ascertained to contain timber of the best quality and largest scantling. The management of the Burman forests has hitherto been conducted on the rudest system imaginable. In preparing the timber for ship-building, the planks are not generally sawn, but hewn with the axe. The finest tree, thus treated, affords but two planks; whereas, if sawn, it would afford double the number, and of a better quality. These planks, as prepared by the Burmans, are so uneven that not more than four will go to a ton of fifty cubic feet; whereas, of sawn planks, a ton will stow seven. The economy which would follow the most moderate application of European skill and machinery, may easily be inferred from this example. The erection of one or two saw-mills alone would, in all likelihood, reduce the price of teak-timber in the markets of England and India to one-half, or even one-third its present amount.

The other rude productions of these provinces are cardamoms, catechu, bees-wax, ivory, rhinoceros and deer's horns and skins, jerk-beef, esculent swallows'-nests, and the holothurion, or sea-slug. Most of these commodities are in constant demand in the markets of China, and would readily find their way thither, either through

the Straits of Malacca, or directly by European vessels.

The merest fraction only of the area of these provinces is in a state of culture. The articles of agricultural produce are sufficiently various, but all upon a very limited scale, and the greater number the result of a rude and careless husbandry, as might naturally be expected. The principal are rice, cotton, indigo, black pepper, and areca nut. The quantity of land suited to the growth of rice is very great, especially in the district of Martaban; the soil is there eminently productive, and the labour of cultivation very inconsiderable. There are no forests to cut down, for the rice lands are extensive savannas, covered with a tall grass, readily burnt down in the dry season. The periodical rains, a harrow, and the treading of buffaloes, without the plough, sufficiently prepare the soil for the seed, which very generally gives a return of from fifty to eighty fold. The grain is, of course, extremely cheap; more so, indeed, than in any other part of the Burman dominions. In ordinary years, two shillings per cwt. may be considered as a common price for good clean rice. When European and Chinese settlers become owners of the land, (and it is through these classes only that we can rationally expect any rapid improvement in its agriculture,) the soil and climate will be found to be peculiarly well suited to the growth of such important



articles as cotton, sugar-cane, and indigo. To these may be added, for the mountainous and more elevated parts of the country, black pepper, coffee, the mulberry, and even tea.

The population of the provinces consists of the following different races: Talains, or Peguans, Burmans, Karyens, Taongsus, Chaloms, and Pasás. The two first are the most civilized, and the Karyens follow them. The rest are but poor, wandering, half-savage people. The Peguans form the bulk of the inhabitants. Shortly after these provinces came into our possession, an attempt was made to form a rough estimate of their population, and the following were the results:—

Part of Martaban	24,000
Yé	3,000
Tavoy	15,000
Mergui	8,000
	<hr/>
	50,000

This afforded the miserable result of one and a half inhabitant to the square mile. This state of depopulation was produced by the incursions of the Siamese into the provinces of Tavoy and Mergui, and by two great emigrations of the Talain inhabitants of Martaban into Siam, which took place not many years before our conquest of it. After the restoration of the other parts of Pegu to the Burmese, on the conclusion of peace, many of the Talain inhabitants sought refuge

from apprehended persecution in our portion of Martaban. The emigrants, on this occasion, were supposed to amount, in round numbers, to twenty thousand, making the whole population seventy thousand, or little more than two inhabitants to the square mile. Our portion of Martaban, the finest and most improveable part of our acquisitions, contains probably an area of about ten thousand square miles, while its population, including the recent accession, is but forty-four thousand, or scarcely four and a third inhabitants to the mile.

In reality, the state of these provinces far more resembles the wilds of America than that of our old conquests in Hindustan. They are countries capable of colonization in the strictest sense of this term; and, were the free settlement of Europeans, Chinese, and others permitted, under a liberal and economical administration, we should soon see them well-peopled, and be presented with an example of rapid improvement, agricultural and commercial, of which no other portion of our Indian dominions is, in my opinion, capable.

The revenue for defraying the expenses of administration may, as I conceive, be raised from a small impost on the export and import trade, an excise on spirits and opium, and, eventually, by a tax on the rent of land. The duties on trade should be confined to the foreign com-



merce, extend only to a few staple articles, and be limited in amount to two or three per cent. on the value of the product. The view which I take of a land-tax is fully explained in the following extract of my Report to the Indian Government.

“ In the distribution of new lands, and the organization of a land-tax, the following are the principles which, it appears to me, it will be most material to hold in view: viz. to give the occupants a permanent interest in the land—to make the tenures simple, and free from technicalities—to prevent the monopoly of large tracts of land—to fix, from the first, the principle on which the land is to be taxed in perpetuity—to make such reservations of forests, lakes, rights of way, and navigation, as may be advantageous to the public; and, finally, to secure to the Government, from the land, an adequate revenue, which shall increase with the advance of industry and population. The two first objects here enumerated, a permanent interest in the soil, and the simplification of the tenures, will be adequately attained by giving to the proprietors long leases similar to those given at Singapore. The land becomes, in this manner, a chattel interest, and not a real estate; and is, of course, relieved from all the legal inconveniences incident to the latter.

“ Land-jobbing to an injurious extent will be prevented by rendering the land subject to a small quit-rent from the moment it is given. Every

grant of land thus bestowed will be, from the first moment, an addition to the public revenue. The amount of the quit-rent should be small ; and being so, it will probably be found expedient to make it uniformly the same throughout the country.

“ A tax on rent will form the most considerable and unexceptionable source of the revenue to be derived from the land. On lands as yet unappropriated, however, rent will not commence for a series of years. I propose that the tax should not be operative until ten years after the date of each grant, which may be considered a reasonable time, not detrimental to the interest of the state, nor likely to prejudice improvement. It will be expedient, however, that the rate should be determined at the outset. I conceive that ten per cent. of the rents, estimated at the value of a fourth of the gross produce of the land, will be a fair rate of taxation. In order that the public revenue may keep pace with the advance of rents, new assessments of the land must be made from time to time. To prevent these, however, from becoming troublesome to the Government, or vexatious to the proprietors, they should be made for a specific time, such, for example, as a period of ten years. Consulting, at once, both the interests of the State and of the proprietors, I would suggest that the amount of each assessment should be determined by arbitrators mutually chosen by the Government and the lessees.



“ With respect to lands already appropriated by the native inhabitants, no distinction need be drawn between these and unappropriated lands, except that the first quit-rents may, in consideration of their improved state, and the surrender, on the part of the British Government, of most of the rights exercised by the native Government, be rated considerably higher than on new lands.

“ To simplify the written leases, and to prevent them from being encumbered and overlaid by a multiplicity of conditions, I would propose that they simply comprise a specification of the lands, and that for the terms, reference should be made to the proclamation under which the grants are made, of which a copy may, perhaps, be conveniently annexed to each grant. I shall here briefly enumerate the conditions which it appears to me ought to be comprehended in such a proclamation.

“ Grants of unappropriated land on leasehold tenures will be given on the following conditions :—

“ Applicants will receive, in the first instance, certificates, or location-tickets, specifying the extent of land to be granted.

“ A perpetual annual quit-rent of —— grains of pure silver on each acre of land, shall be paid by the lessee to the Honourable East India Company, their successors, &c. in half-yearly instalments, from the date of the location-tickets.

“ When the land is surveyed, which shall be

done at the expense of the grantee, a regular instrument, in the form of a lease, shall be given to the lessee.

“ The lease, to be given as above, shall run for a period of nine hundred and ninety-nine years from the date of the location-ticket.

“ After a period of ten years from the date of the location-ticket, the lands thus granted on lease shall be assessed with a tax rated at one-tenth part of their gross rental.

“ In the assessment of the above tax of one-tenth of the gross rental of the land, the rent shall be determined at not more than one-fourth part of the value of the gross produce of such land.

“ The tax of one-tenth of the rental of the land, as above, shall be determined from time to time, during the currency of the lease, for a period of ten years certain, or a new assessment shall be made at the termination of every ten years.

“ The tax of one-tenth of the gross rental, as above, shall always be assessed by arbitration, one arbitrator to be chosen by the Honourable East India Company, their heirs or successors, and one by the lessee, an umpire being called in by such arbitrators, in case of disagreement between them.

“ The tax of one-tenth of the rental, as above mentioned, shall be paid, by half-yearly instalments, into the treasury of the Honourable East India Company, their successors, &c.

“ Such tax of one-tenth, as above, shall be paid



in gold or silver of the legal currency of the Government for the time being.

“ If it shall happen that the annual quit-rent above specified, or the tax of one-tenth upon the rental, shall fall in arrears, or be unpaid, in part or in whole, after the period limited and appointed for payment, it shall be lawful for the United Company, their successors, &c. to distrain for such quit-rent or tax as above, in whole or in part.

“ The leases granted, as above, shall not comprise natural forests of teak timber of whatever extent, nor lakes, tanks, rivers, water-courses, roads, or pathways, all of which are hereby reserved in full property to the Honourable East India Company, their successors, &c.

“ The Honourable East India Company farther reserves to itself, its successors, &c. in full property, the banks of all rivers, lakes, ponds, and water-courses, to the extent of fifty feet from the high water-mark of such rivers, lakes, ponds, and water-courses.

“ Lands granted on lease, as above, shall not be alienated or mortgaged in whole or in part, unless such alienation shall be registered in a book of registry, to be kept for that purpose by the Honourable East India Company, their successors, &c.; and failing this condition, such alienation or mortgage shall be considered void and of no effect.”

“ In regard to the collection of the revenue, no

difficulty can, I conceive, be anticipated, except in respect to the Native inhabitants. These have been immemorially accustomed to pay their contributions through their chiefs, whose corruption is notorious, and who commonly extorted far more than they ever paid into the public treasury. I shall recur to this subject hereafter, and in the mean while, shall only state that my views on this subject have for their object to make the chiefs of villages and districts elective by the householders and cultivators, or those paying contributions. In this case they may safely be made collectors of the land revenue, the Government paying to them a commission on the amount collected. On this plan, it may be expected that the remuneration given will secure the faithful services of the chiefs to the Government, while their responsibility to the cultivators will protect the latter from that extortion and abuse of authority which are the radical vices of the Burmese Government."



## CHAPTER VIII.

Burman History.—Materials.—Cosmography.—Fabulous Story.—History and origin of Gautama.—Kings of Wethali, Majima, or Jaintya.—Kings of Prome.—Kings of Pagan.—Conjectures respecting the introduction of the Budd'hist Religion.—Kings of Panya.—Kings of Sagaing or Chitkaing.—Kings of Ava.—Alompra, and his successors.—Chinese Invasions of the Burman Empire—British connexion.

THE sketch of Burman history contained in this chapter has been chiefly compiled from native documents or oral information, obtained during my residence in the Burman dominions. The Burmese, as will hereafter be more fully explained, are not absolutely destitute of historical compositions; and I am indebted to translations of some of their narratives for a few of the details about to be given. The most valuable document, however, from which the sketch is compiled, is the chronological table, of which a translation will be found in the Appendix. The original, a neat modern manuscript, written on a long scroll of paper, folded zig-zag, according to a frequent practice of the Burmese and their neighbours, was found in one of the stockades captured by

the British army. The translation was effected by Mr. Judson, to whom I have so often had occasion to express my obligations ; and, with the exception of having the Christian era annexed, it is a literal version.

With the usual extravagance of Eastern nations, the Burmese carry their history back to a very remote and fabulous antiquity. It commences with a kind of Cosmography, and the greater portion of this, at least, seems borrowed from the country of the Hindus. The duration of “ a world,” say they, is divided into four periods of equal length. One of these only is destined for the residence of living beings, and the remaining three are passed : first, in the destruction of the habited globe by fire ; second, in its continuing in a state of chaos ; and third, in its restoration by means of water. The duration of the period intended for the residence of living beings, is determined by certain ages of man’s life. In the first age, the life of man is only ten years ; in the second it is twenty ; in the third forty ; and so on in an arithmetical ratio, until it attain one hundred victrillions, when it decreases in the same proportion, until it again arrive at ten. This circle of increase and decrease repeated sixty-four times, makes the total duration of the habited earth, when it is again destroyed by fire, again lies in a state of chaos, is again restored by the agency of water, and again re-peopled. Subject to these



revolutions, the world, strictly speaking, has neither beginning nor end. Eleven out of the sixty-four revolutions of man's age have passed away, and we are but in the beginning of the twelfth. Every period produces a royal being, who having attained the age of one hundred vic-trillions of years, assumes the name of Thumada (Sumada). Of these, eleven have already appeared. The last of these was succeeded by a dynasty of twenty-eight kings, each of whose ages equalled his own, and who reigned in the three following countries, viz. Kok-tha-wadi (Kok-sa-wati), Yaza-gaya (Raja-gaya), and Mitela (Mit'hila). These were succeeded by one hundred kings, who reigned in Kok-tha-wadi only. After these worthies we have no less than twenty-two dynasties, each of which reigned in a different country. Among these countries, several Hindu names may be recognized; such as Hastipura, Madura, &c. The last dynasty, consisting of eighty-two thousand and thirteen kings, reigned in the native country of Gautama. The whole number of kings, who reigned from the time of the last Sumada to that of Gautama, is reckoned by the Burmese at 334,569! The earliest probable date in Burmese story, or rather in the story which the Burmans mix up with their own, is the commencement of the grand epoch established by Anjana, the grandfather of Gautama. This corresponds with the year before Christ 691.

In the sixty-eighth year of that epoch, Gautama is said to have been born. The Burmese and other Budd'hists pretend to be very minute and circumstantial in all that relates to the nativity of the founder of their religion. He was conceived, say they, in the full moon of the month of July, in the year 67, and born in the May following. In his sixteenth year he ascended the throne; in his twenty-ninth he abdicated, and retired into the forest as an ascetic; in his thirty-fifth year he obtained deification, or became a Budd'ha; and he died, or became extinct, in his eightieth year, corresponding with the year before Christ 544.\* The country of Gautama is commonly called by the Burmese Kapilawot (Capila-varta), but also Makata; and there is no doubt but it is the same with the Magad'ha of the Hindus, the modern Berar. The dynasty of Kapilawot became extinct with the abdication of Gautama. This was followed by a race of six kings, every one of whom had the evil habit of killing his own father. These reigned in a country called, by the Burmese, Raja-gaya (Budd'ha Gya?) This parricidal family was destroyed, seventy-two years after the death of Gautama, by the first minister of the last of them, named Susanaga (Sisunága), a native of

\* For an explanation of the term applied to the condition of Gautama after death, see App<sup>x</sup>. No. XI.



Wethali, which is the petty state of Jaintya, bordering on the Bengal district of Sylhet. This personage, alleged to have been descended from Gautama, in the female line, established the seat of his government in his own native country. His son, Kala-sau-ka, in the tenth year of his reign, and a hundred after the death of Gautama, assembled all the learned men of his country, and made them repeat whatever they knew of the doctrines of the Budd'ha; for there yet existed no "scripture." This assembly is known to the Burmese by the name of the "Second Council;" the first having taken place three months after the death of Guatama. From this time, to the year of 289 before Christ, a period of eighty-three years, twelve princes are described as having reigned in Wethali; the last of whom, Sri-d'hama-sauka (Sri-d'harma-sauka), is a personage of some repute. He is described in Burmese story as having received "the sacred affusion," (Abhisêsa, the Hindu coronation, equivalent to our anointment,) and being a prince of great piety. He destroyed his father's family; extended his dominions far and near; cleared the doctrines of religion from all difficulty; built 84,000 temples, 84,000 monasteries, and maintained 60,000 priests." It was the son of this pious reformer who permanently fixed the seat of Government at Prome, as will be presently mentioned.

The first seat of Burman Government to which any allusion is made, is Pri, or Prome, anciently called Sare-k'het-ta-ra, (Cschétra, a sacred field?) and Rase-myo. This is said to have been founded in the year before Christ 443; that is, one hundred and forty-six years after the commencement of Gautama's mission, and a hundred after his death. For a period of a hundred and forty-two years, or down to the year before Christ, 301, the seat of Government is occasionally stated to have been at Prome, and occasionally at Wethali, or Jaintya, also called Majima. In this last year it was permanently fixed at Prome, and no farther mention is made of Majima. The prince under whom this event took place, is described as a son of D'hama-sauka, King of Wethali, already mentioned. From this period I am disposed to date the probable native history of the Burmese; and about the same time, in all likelihood, took place the first introduction of the Budd'hist religion among them. The seat of Government continued at Prome for three hundred and ninety-five years, during which there reigned twenty-four princes, which gives an average for each reign of between sixteen and seventeen years. After Prome ceased to be the seat of Government, and down to the present time, a period of one thousand seven hundred and thirty-four years, the Burmese appear to have shifted it nine



different times ; the whole of these changes, however, except one, having taken place within the last five hundred and twenty-eight years.

Thirteen years after the death of the last King of Prome, a new dynasty appears to have established the seat of Government at Pagan, where it continued for one thousand one hundred and ninety-three years, or near twelve centuries. In this long period there reigned fifty-five princes, making the duration of each reign between twenty-one and twenty-two years. The extensive ruins of Pagan afford strong presumption of the long continuance of this place as the seat of empire ; for it may fairly be assumed, that in such a state of society remains of such extent could only result from the accumulated labour of many ages. The following remarkable events, some of which have been already referred to in another place, are stated to have taken place while the seat of Government was at Pagan. In the year 386 of Christ, a Burman priest, named Budd'ha Gautha, or Gausa, proceeded to Ceylon, and from thence brought with him a copy of the Budd'hist scriptures. These, therefore, had either not existed before, or had existed only in an imperfect form. This circumstance I have no doubt commemorates some important change in the form of worship, although I am by no means inclined to date from it the first introduction of the Budd'hist religion. In the year 997 of Christ,

the Budd'hist religion underwent farther change, assuming the form it has ever since retained.\* It was while the seat of Government was at Pagan that the present vulgar era was established. The commencement of this corresponds with the year of Christ 639. As far as I can understand, it is purely of Native origin; nor am I aware that it is connected with any important event of national history, although, I believe, some European writers have fancied that it commemorated the first introduction of the religion of Gautama into Ava.

In the year of Christ 1300, the seat of Government was established at Panya, and fifty-six years thereafter Pagan was destroyed. It continued at Panya only for fifty-six years, and during the reign of three princes. In the fifth year of the reign of the first prince, it is recorded in extravagant terms, in an inscription found at Sagaing, and of which a translation is given in the Appendix, that he, the Prince, repelled an invasion of the Chinese; one of those often-repeated attempts at conquest by a more powerful and civilized people, from which the Burmese appear to have escaped subjugation less through their

\* I am disposed to believe that the Budd'hist worship was first brought to Ava through Bengal and Arracan; and that reforms or innovations were subsequently introduced from the Southern Peninsula of India, and the Island of Ceylon, after it ceased to be a prevailing religion in Northern India.



own courage and resources, than the almost insuperable difficulty of the wild country which separates Ava from China.

Thirty-four years before the death of the last Prince of Panya, a new Government appears to have been established at Sagaing, or Chitkaing: the date of this event corresponds with the year of Christ 1322. The seat of Government continued at Sagaing forty-two years, during which period there reigned no less than six princes. In the year of Christ 1364, the seat of Government was removed to Ava, and Panya and Sagaing were destroyed. It continued at this place for three hundred and sixty-nine years, and under twenty-nine princes; the average duration of each reign, therefore, being between twelve and thirteen years only. It was while the Government was at Ava, that Europeans first became acquainted with the Burmese.\* This was about the middle of the sixteenth century, when this people conquered the Peguans, and had also well nigh

\* The celebrated Ferdinand Mendez Pinto visited Ava in 1546. Amidst his egregious fictions or exaggerations, some indications of accuracy and good faith may now and then be discovered. The following is, for the most part, a very tolerable specimen:—"The kingdom of Pegu hath in circuit (frontier?) 140 leagues; is situate on the South side in 16 degrees; and in the heart of the country, towards the rhomb of the earth, it hath 140 leagues; being environed all above with a high ground, named Panganirau, where the nation of the Bramaas doth inhabit, whose country is four-score leagues broad and two hundred long."

effected the subjugation of Siam; their career, in short, on this occasion, greatly resembling that which they pursued two centuries thereafter, and nearly in our own times. The Burmese appear to have kept the Peguans in subjection down to the close of the seventeenth century. Towards the commencement of the eighteenth, the Peguans rebelled, in their turn, subdued the Burmese, and, in the year 1733, carried their king captive to Pegu, making themselves masters of the whole country. This state of things gave rise to the adventures of Alompra, the founder of the present dynasty, and the greatest, or at least the best-known character in Burman story. This ambitious and successful leader was, before his rebellion, Kye-gain of Moksobo, or Monchabo, then a small town or village. The office was nearly similar to that of Myo-thugyi, or chief of a township. His original name, or, more correctly, title, was Aong-zaya (jaya),\* and he assumed that of Alompra after his advance to the throne. This name, correctly written, is Alaong-b'hura; and it is a term applied to any one destined, according to Burman belief, to become a Budd'ha. The meaning of this is, in short, that the conqueror bestowed upon himself a species of apotheosis. Alompra, from partiality to his native place, removed the seat of Government to Monchabo, which he

\* The first is a Burman, and the second a Pali word. Both mean "victory."



walled, and rendered a place of considerable extent. After a reign of eight years, he died, and was succeeded by his son, Uparaja, commonly called Naong-tan-kri, or, the "royal elder brother." This prince made Sagaing his capital, and died after a short reign of three years. His successor was his brother, whose name is pronounced by Europeans Sembuen, but is correctly written Chang-p'hru-shang, and pronounced Sen-p'hyu-s'hen, meaning "king of the white elephant." He removed the capital to Ava. In 1776, he was succeeded by his son Sen-ku-sa, of whose character a very unfavourable account is given in the narrative of Colonel Symes. The account given to me was very different. According to this, he is stated to have been a prince of a liberal and benevolent disposition, much resembling in character the present King. His peaceable character, however, after a long career of war and rapine, rendered him unpopular with the chiefs; and after a reign of five years, he fell a victim to the intrigues of his uncle, the late king, who raised to the throne, in his room, Paong-ka-cha, commonly called Maong-maong, the son of Uparaja, and therefore the lineal heir of Alompra. This personage, a feeble prince, appears only to have been used by his uncle as a stepping-stone to his own ambition; for he was destroyed by him in the first year of his reign, when he himself ascended the throne. This prince, known by the

names of Padun-mang, and Man-ta-ra-kri, began his reign in 1781, and, most capriciously, removed the seat of Government from the more suitable site of Ava to Amarapura. Notwithstanding his crimes, he appears not only to have been generally an able, but a prudent prince. I need hardly remark, that he is the individual so often referred to by my predecessors, Colonel Symes, Captain Cox, and Major Canning. Man-ta-ra-ki, after a long reign of thirty-eight years, was succeeded, in 1819, by his present Majesty, his grandson, and the son of the Ing-she-men, or heir-apparent, so often alluded to by the gentlemen whom I have just quoted. In 1822, moved by his own caprice, and confirmed in it by the predictions of soothsayers, he removed the capital to Ava. Down to the year 1819, a period of sixty-seven years, six princes of the dynasty of Alompra had reigned, giving little more than eleven years for each reign. Alompra and his successors extended the bounds of Burman dominion far beyond all their predecessors; having added to the ancient territory of the Burman race, not only Pegu, and a portion of Lao, but Martaban, Tavoy, and Tenasserim; provinces, sometimes independent, but often under the yoke of the Siamese; together with the principalities of Arracan, Cassay, Cachar, Assam, and Jaintya. The possession of the latter distant and poor countries, became a source of weakness and not of strength to the Burman power, from



its rudeness and want of political skill, peculiarly ill suited for maintaining a beneficial authority over remote acquisitions. These possessions farther brought them into that collision with a civilized nation which ended in a contest that has probably for ever arrested the progress of their wild and barbarous conquests.

One remarkable event in the history of the family of Alompra deserves some notice: the invasion of the Burman dominions by the Chinese. This took place in the successive Burman years, 1128, 1129, 1130, and 1131, or, from 1776 to 1780, in the reign of Sembuen, the third prince of the dynasty. Colonel Symes, in his narrative, represents the defeat and capture of a great Chinese army, by the skilful manœuvres of a Burman force sent against it. I could not hear that there was any foundation for this compliment to the military skill of the Burmese; and the following is the version of this story, which I received from the natives themselves. The Chinese had ravaged the upper part of the country for three years, and, on certain submissions being made to them by the Burmese, including the acknowledgment of vassalage, which they are accustomed to exact from their other neighbours, they retired. Instead of the Burmese general having captured a Chinese army, the convention by which he procured the evacuation of the country was considered by the King of

Ava so humiliating, that, to mark his disapprobation, and satirize the cowardice of his general, he sent him the emblematic gift of a woman's dress! It is remarkable, that at the conferences with the British Commissioners, which led to peace, the Burmese chiefs quoted the example of the Chinese, as one which they expected we should imitate. Each party, they said, then retired from the contest on equal terms; the Chinese not claiming, as we did, territorial cession, or pecuniary indemnity. The Chinese invasion now mentioned appears to be the third of which particular notice is taken in Burmese story; for, besides that which I have mentioned as having taken place in 1305, another happened in the reign of Mang-k'ha-k'he: a monarch of Pagan, whose reign commenced in 1233, and ended in 1277. This prince, from his conduct on the occasion, is often nicknamed "Tarok-pya-men," or "the Chinese runaway." This appears to have been the most formidable attack made by the Chinese; for they are said not only to have taken the capital, but to have pushed their incursions to the farthest verge of the Burmese territory to the South, where a projecting point of land, on the Irawadi (Airavat, the name of Indra's elephant,) still bears their name, (Tarok-Mau, or Chinese point).

Before concluding this slight sketch of Burman story, a few reflections may be offered on its character. There is an air of authenticity and moder-



ation in Burman chronology, a little singular in the East, and scarcely to be looked for among so rude a people. Contrary to my expectations, I was, indeed, informed in Ava, that the Burmese possessed some historical compositions, in which points of chronology were curiously discussed; or, at least, concerning which the writers, contrary to Oriental usage, thought it worth their while to pause and inquire. No doubt, there will be found much discrepancy in their early narratives; but the remarkable fact still remains, of so rude a people attempting at all to exercise their reason on such subjects. I have little doubt but that they have been led into this course by the numerous inscriptions, all, or almost all of them, bearing royal names and dates, which are scattered over the country; and the presence of which would always afford a ready refutation to the pretended chronologist, who consulted only his imagination. This spirit of inquiry is evinced in the following translations, which may be referred to, at least as objects of curiosity.

“ 573. Jaya Sing’ha, otherwise called Ozana, and Nantaong-mya, or Ti-lo-men-lo. The year 565, is thought by some to be the true era, because it is mentioned that the spiritual guide of Jaya Sing’ha completed in that year a certain book; but this circumstance is explained, by the fact of the king’s having exercised royal authority long before his father’s death; and an inscription

on stone is found at the Jaya-bot monastery, referring to the commencement of this reign, in 573.\* The king's father, having placed the white umbrella in the midst of his five sons, prayed that it might fall towards the rightful heir, and, according to his wish, it fell towards Jaya Sing'ha. After he ascended the throne, his four brothers betook themselves to the monasteries and became priests. Every eighth day the King respectfully visited them in person; and the whole royal revenue he divided into five parts, one for himself, and four for his brothers. The hearts of all were gladdened, and the whole country prospered. This Prince built a temple on the spot where his father had cast the lot that raised him to the throne, and he called it *Ti-lo-men-lo*, which means 'As likes the umbrella, so likes the kingdom.' In due time he was borne down with grief at the loss of his favourite queen and of a beloved son. He abstained from food, went no more abroad, built four or five temples, and died at the age of sixty, having reigned three-and-twenty years. The planet Saturn, on this occasion, displayed the appearance of a comet, and the Sun's shadow fell towards itself. His natal star was Mars."

\* There is a remarkable discrepancy between this statement and that of the "Chronological Table," which I do not pretend to explain. In the table, Jaya Singha's reign is described as having terminated about the Burman year 573, and here it is said to have properly commenced at that time.



“ 596. Kya-chura, otherwise called D'hama-raja, succeeded his father. He loved every body; read, and became master of every book; held public disputations; and seven times a day instructed his household. He wrote himself a work, called ‘Parmata Bingdu,’ and built a great house for the purpose of holding disputations. He also constructed a monastery at Sagú, and a great tank, by damming a mountain stream. During this reign, there were no wars, or commotions of any kind. Exercising himself one day with the spear, he received a wound, which put an end to his life in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and sixteenth of his reign. On this occasion, a vulture was seen to perch on his stable,\* and a demon was descried peeping over the throne.”

The strongest internal marks of authenticity in Burman chronology, is the average shortness of the reigns. From the year 301 before Christ, to the accession of the present King in 1819, a period of two thousand one hundred and twenty years, the number of sovereigns is one hundred and twenty-three; and therefore the length of each reign is only between sixteen and seventeen years, or from three to four years less than the computed average for European monarchies. This is what might reasonably be expected

\* The perching of a vulture on a house is considered by the Burmese a most direful omen to the owner.

among a rude people, subject to commotions, rebellions, usurpations, and foreign invasion. The greatest length of the reigns is neither found in the earliest or the latest period of Burman history, but in the intermediate one, while the seat of Government was at Pagan. The long continuance of this place as the capital, the vast extent of its ruins, and their comparative splendour, may lead us to believe that it was here that the Burmese nation enjoyed the greatest share of tranquillity and prosperity; and, consequently, that it was here also that the succession to the throne was most regular and uninterrupted.

In the sketch now given of Burman history, I have taken no notice of our own acquaintance, or political relations with Ava, and therefore now submit the following connected outline of them.

The first notice we have of the Burman dominions in an English writer, is that by Ralph Fitch, a merchant of London, who travelled in India towards the end of the sixteenth century, or from the year 1583 to 1591. Fitch left Bengal in the month of November 1586, in a small Portuguese vessel, and the first port of Pegu which he entered was that of Bassein, from whence he passed, by the inland navigation, to Rangoon and Syrian, eventually visiting the town of Pegu. Making allowance for the time in which he wrote, and for the scantiness of his opportunities, Fitch's



account of localities and manners is surprisingly accurate and faithful. As examples, his account of the port and town of Bassein (Cosmin); of the navigation from Bassein to Syrian (Cirion); of the King of Pegu's palace; of the white elephants; of the catching and taming of elephants; of trade; of the temples; of the priests; of the trial by ordeal,—may all be safely referred to. I shall give a few extracts, to show, from the only authentic record which we possess, the condition of Pegu near two centuries and a half ago. His account of the temples is as follows. “And they consume many canes, likewise, in making of their Varellaes, or idol temples, which are in great number, both great and small. They be made round, like a sugar-loaf; some are as high as a church, very broad beneath; some a quarter of a mile in compass: within they be all earth, done about with stone. They consume in these varellaes great quantity of gold; for that they be all gilded aloft; and many of them from the top to the bottom: and every ten or twelve years they must be new gilded, because the rain consumeth off the gold; for they stand open abroad. If they did not consume their gold in these vanities, it would be very plentiful, and good and cheap in Pegu. About two days' journey from Pegu, there is a Varelle, or pagoda, which is the pilgrimage of the Pegues: it is called Dagonne

(Dagong); and is of a wonderful bigness, and all gilded from the foot to the top. And there is an house by it wherein the tallipoies, which are their priests, do preach. This house is fifty-five paces in length, and hath three parones, or walks in it, and forty great pillars, gilded, which stand between the walks; and it is open on all sides with a number of small pillars, which be likewise gilded. It is gilded with gold within and without. There are houses very fair round about for the pilgrims to lie in, and many goodly houses for the tallipoies to preach in, which are full of images, both of men and women, which are gilded over with gold. It is the fairest place, as I suppose, that is in the world: it standeth very high, and there are four ways to it, which all along are set with trees of fruits, in such wise that a man may go in the shade about two miles in length. And when their feast day is, a man can hardly pass, by water or by land, for the great press of people; for they come from all places of the kingdom of Pegu thither at their feast.”—The graphic account of the great Temple of Rangoon here given is, with very immaterial exceptions, so accurate, that, although written above two hundred and forty years ago, it might well serve to describe its present state; a proof at once of the fidelity of the writer, and the immobility of Burman society.—The account of the voyage from Bassein to



Pegu is equally faithful. “From the bar of Negrais to the city of Pegu, is ten days’ journey by the rivers: we went from Cosmin to Pegu in paroes, or boats; and passing up the rivers, we came to Medon, which is a pretty town, where there be a number of paroes; for they keep their houses and markets in them, all upon the water. They row to and fro, and have all their merchandize in their boats, with a great sombrera, or shadow, over their heads, to keep the sun from them, which is as broad as a great cart-wheel, made of the leaves of the cocoa-trees and fig-trees, and is very light.” The indiscriminate diet of the people is alluded to as follows: “The people do eat roots, herbs, leaves, dogs, cats, rats, serpents, and snakes; they refuse almost nothing.”—The account given of the priests is particularly striking. “In Pegu, they have many tallipoies, or priests, which preach against all abuses. Many men resort unto them. When they enter into their Kiack (Kyaong,)—that is to say, their holy place or temple—at the door there is a great jar of water with a cock or ladle in it, and there they wash their feet, and then they enter in, and lift up their hands to their heads, first to their preacher, and then to the sun, and so sit down. The tallipoies go very strangely apparelled, with one gamboline, or thin cloth, next to their body, of a brown colour; another of yellow, doubled many

times on their shoulder ; and these two be girded to them with a broad girdle ; and they have a skin of leather hanging on a string about their necks, whereupon they sit bareheaded and barefooted—for none of them weareth shoes—with their right arms bare, and a great broad sombrera, or shadow, in their hands, to defend them in the summer from the sun, and in the winter from the rain. When the tallipoies, or priests, take their orders, first they go to school until they be twenty years old or more, and then they come before a tallipoie appointed for that purpose, whom they call a **Rawli**: he is of the chiefest and most learned, and he opposeth them, and afterwards examineth them many times, whether they will leave their friends, and the company of all women, and take upon them the habit of a tallipoie. If any be content, then he rideth upon a horse about the streets, very richly apparelled, with drums and pipes, to show that he leaveth the riches of the world to be a tallipoie. In a few days, he is carried upon a thing like a horse-litter, which they call a *serion*, upon ten or twelve men's shoulders, in the apparel of a tallipoie, with pipes and drums, and many tallipoies with him, and all his friends ; and so they go with him to his house, which standeth upon the town, and then they leave him. Every one of them hath his house, which is very little, set upon six or eight posts,



and they go up to them with a ladder of twelve or fourteen staves. Their houses be, for the most part, by the highway's side, and among the trees, and in the woods. And they go with a great pot made of wood or fine earth, and covered, tied with a broad girdle upon their shoulder, which cometh under their arm, wherewith they go to beg their victuals, which is rice, fish, and herbs. They demand nothing, but come to the door, and the people presently do give them, some one thing and some another; and they put all together in their pot; for they say they must eat of their alms, and therewith content themselves. They keep their feasts by the moon; and when it is new moon, they keep their greatest feast, and then the people send rice and other things to that Kiack, or church, of which they be. And then all the tallipoies do meet, which be of that church, and eat the victuals which are sent them. When the tallipoies do preach, many of the people carry them gifts into the pulpit where they sit and preach; and there is one which sitteth by them to take that which the people bring. It is divided among them. They have none other ceremonies nor service, that I could see, but only preaching."

In the time of Fitch's visit, and his statement seems confirmed by that of Gaspar Balbi, who preceded him only by three years, Pegu was go-

verned by a Burman dynasty, and, although separated from Ava, ruled by a prince of the same family. This state of things was probably the result of the Burman conquest of Pegu, which was effected during the visit of Mendez Pinto, in 1546, and of which that writer has rendered so exaggerated and obviously unfaithful an account. We gather from Fitch's statements, that the kingdom of Pegu was in his time in a far more prosperous state than during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and even to the present times. Besides the capital, he describes as large and flourishing places, Cosmin, or Bassein, Medon, Dalla, Syrian, a place called by him Macao, and Martaban. The description given of the capital is, on account of the writer's ascertained fidelity, worth transcribing. "Pegu," says he, "is a city strong and very fair, with walls of stone and great ditches round about it. There are two towns, the old and the new. In the old town are all the merchant strangers, and very many merchants of the country. All the goods are sold in the old town, which is very great, and hath many suburbs round about it; and all the houses are made of canes, which they call bambos, and be covered with straw. In your house you have a warehouse or godon, which is made of brick, to put your goods in; for oftentimes they take fire, and burn in an hour four or five hun-



dred houses: so that, if the godon were not, you should be in danger to have all burnt in a trice. In the new town, is the king, and all his nobility and gentry. It is a city very great and populous, and is made square, and with fair walls, and a great ditch round about it full of water, with many crocodiles in it: it hath twenty gates, and they be made of stone; for every square five gates. There are also many turrets for sentinels to watch, made of wood, and gilded with gold very fair. The streets are the fairest that ever I saw, as straight as a line from one gate to another, and so broad that ten or twenty men may ride afront through them. On both sides them, at every man's door, is set a palm-tree, which is the nut-tree, which makes a very fair show, and a very commodious shadow, so that a man may walk in the shade all day. The houses be made of wood, and covered with tile. The king's house is in the middle of the city, and is walled and ditched round about; and the buildings within are made of wood, very sumptuously gilded, and great workmanship is upon the forefront, which is likewise very costly gilded. And the house wherein his pagoda or idol standeth is covered with tiles of silver, and all the walls are gilded with gold. Within the first gate of the king's house is a great large room, on both sides whereof are houses made for the king's elephants,

which be marvellous great and fair, and are brought up to wars and in service of the king; and among the rest, he has four white elephants, which are very strange and rare, for there is none other king hath them but he: if any other king hath one, he will send to him for it." Here, in reality, we have, although upon a large and magnificent scale, a pretty faithful description of the modern city of Ava, with its palaces, pagodas, and elephants.

The account given of the foreign trade of Pegu is equally faithful with the rest of Fitch's narrative, and is such as to convey a very respectable opinion of its extent in those early times. "In India," says our intelligent author, "there are few commodities which serve for Pegu, except opium of Cambaia, painted cloth of St. Thome, or of Masulipatan, and white cloth of Bengala, which is spent there in great quantity. They bring thither also much cotton yarn, red coloured with a root which they call saia, which will never lose its colour: it is very well sold, and very much of it cometh yearly to Pegu. By your money you lose much. The ships which come from Bengala, St. Thome, and Masulipatan, come to the bar of Negrais and Cosmin. To Martavan, a port of the sea in the kingdom of Pegu, come many ships from Malacca, laden with sandal, porcelains, and other wares of China, and with



camphora of Borneo, and pepper from Achin, in Sumatra. To Cirion, a port of Pegu, come ships from Mecca, with woollen cloths, scarlets, velvets, opium, and such like. There are in Pegu eight brokers, whom they call Tareghe, (Thare-gyi,) which are bound to sell your goods at the price which they be worth, and you give them for their labour two in the hundred, and they be bound to make your debt good; because you sell your merchandizes on their word. If the broker pay you not at his day, you may take him home, and keep him in your house, which is a great shame for him. And if he pay you not presently, you may take his wife and children, and his slaves, and bind them at your door, and set them in the sun; for this is the law of the country. Their current money in these parts is a kind of brass, which they call ganza, wherewith you may buy gold, silver, rubies, musk, and all other things. The gold and silver is merchandize, and is worth, sometimes more, sometimes less, as other wares be. This brazen money doth go by a weight, which they call a biza, (the viss, or paiktha;) and, commonly, this biza, after our account, is worth about half-a-crown, or somewhat less. The merchandize which be in Pegu, are gold, silver, rubies, sapphires, spinells, musk, benjamin or frankincense, long pepper, tin, lead, copper, lacker whereof they make hard wax, rice and wine made of rice, and some sugar."

From the statement here given, we may conclude that the trade and industry of Pegu had rather retrograded than advanced in the long period of two hundred and twenty-five years, which preceded the last fifteen. Then we find Portuguese and Mohammedan merchants carrying on a brisk trade from Bengal, the South of India, and the Malay countries, and furnishing the Peguans with the productions of those countries and of China; while the Arabs import not only the produce of their own country, but the manufactures of Europe. In Fitch's description of the manners of the Peguans, there are a few facts only which do not agree with the existing order. The Peguans, who now paint, or rather tattoo their bodies, in the same manner as the Burmans, are stated, in his time, to have been interdicted from this practice, which was a distinctive mark of the true Burman. This would seem to imply that the Burman conquest was recent, and that the two nations had as yet in no manner assimilated, as in a good measure they have done in our times. Brass (not at present so used) is said to have been used as money: and a whimsical, indecent, and savage rite, practised by the men of the country, is confidently and fully described, which certainly has no longer any existence.

The Portuguese appear to have established themselves early in the Burmese dominions, and



to have engaged both in war and trade ; but of the existence of the English, even as merchants, no mention is made during the sixteenth century.

In the seventeenth century, we find them possessed of factories in various parts of the country, even as far as B'hamo, the celebrated mart of the Chinese inland trade. "On some dispute with the Bûraghmah\* Government," says Dalrymple, "the Dutch threatened (if they did not even attempt) to bring in the Chinese. This, very justly, gave umbrage to the Bûraghmah, who immediately turned both English and Dutch out of his dominions ; many years elapsed before the English could obtain leave to return, and the Dutch never were re-admitted."†

In 1695, Mr. N. Higginson, then Governor of Madras, sent a letter and embassy to the King of Ava ; of the letter, the following is the address : "To his Imperial Majesty, who blesseth the noble city of Ava with his presence, Emperor of emperors, and excelling the Kings of the East and of the West in glory and honour ; the clear firmament of virtue, the fountain of justice, the perfection of wisdom, the lord of charity, and pro-

\* The true name of this people is Mranma, pronounced by themselves Myama. We have the following European versions of it : Bramaa, Bûraghmah, Burma, Burman, and Burmese.

† Dalrymple's "Oriental Repertory."

tector of the distressed ; the first mover in the sphere of greatness, president in council, victorious in war ; who feareth none, and is feared by all : centre of the treasures of the earth and of the sea ; lord proprietor of gold and silver, rubies, amber, and all precious jewels ; favoured by heaven, and honoured by men ; whose brightness shines through the world as the light of the sun, and whose great name will be preserved in perpetual memory.” The letter goes on to say, “ The fame of so glorious an Emperor, the lord of power and riches, being spread through the whole earth, all nations resort to view the splendour of your greatness, and, with your Majesty’s subjects, to partake of the blessings which God Almighty hath bestowed upon your kingdoms above all others. Your Majesty has been pleased to grant your especial favours to the Honourable English Company, whose servant I am ; and now send to present before the footstool of your throne a few toys, as an acknowledgment of your Majesty’s goodness, which I beg your Majesty to accept, and to vouchsafe an audience to my servants, and a gracious answer to my petition.

“ I humbly pray your Majesty’s fountain of goodness to continue your wonted favours to the Right Honourable English Company, and to permit our factors to buy and sell, in such commodities, and under such privileges, as your royal



bounty shall please to grant; and allow us such conveniencies as are necessary for the repair of ships, whereby I shall be encouraged to send my ships yearly to your Majesty's ports; having orders from the Honourable Company to send ships and factors into all parts of India, when their service requires it; and pray your Majesty to give me leave to send a factor next monsoon to reside at Syrian."

The envoy, on this occasion, was a Mr. Edward Fleetwood; and of his views and sentiments on the conduct of the Mission, the following is a good specimen. "I inquired if it would not be proper to ingratiate myself with the King's mistress, for that I heard that she could procure me almost any favour I should desire. He told me I must by no means do it; for a prince of the country that was come to court, not long since, to beg some favour of the King, applying himself to that lady for her assistance, did, for that very reason, not only miss of what he came to request, but was degraded, and hardly escaped severe punishment."

The audience is described as follows. "The present was carried by as many coolies as we could get, to the number of a hundred and sixty, in small bamboo-baskets. The letter was carried by Mr. King on horseback, before the present; and myself, attended by the linguist, followed

the present. When we came to the garden-gate, where the King was, we alighted; where we were met by one of the ovidores, who was there ready to conduct me in, and to direct me in the manner of approaching the King. Here I took the letter from Mr. King, and stayed almost a quarter of an hour before the gates were opened, when we fell down upon our knees and made three bows; which done, we entered the garden, the present following, and, having gone about half-way from the gate to the place where the King was seated, we made three bows again as before; when we were got within fifteen yards of the King, we made three bows again, as we had done before, and were ordered to sit down. After we were sat down, the King ordered the ovidore to receive the letter; and about half a quarter of an hour after, asked me the three usual questions; viz. How long I had been in my passage from Madras to his port of Syrian? How many days from Syrian to Ava? And, at my departure from Madras, if I had left my Governor in good health? I told his Majesty that I had been about thirty days in my passage from Madras to Syrian; about forty-two days from Syrian to Ava; and that, at my departure from Madras, thanks to God! I had left my Governor in good health, supplicating the Divine power for the continuation of his Majesty's health and happiness. After this, I sat about half



a quarter of an hour longer, and then was dismissed."

The answer to the letter of the Governor of Madras is not in the person of the King; for this would be contrary to custom. It is in the following strain. "In the East, where the sun rises, and in that Oriental part of it which is called Chabudu; the Lord of water and earth, and Emperor of emperors, against whose Imperial Majesty if any shall be so foolish as to imagine any thing, it shall be happy for them to die and be consumed; the Lord of great charity, and Help of all nations, the great Lord esteemed for happiness; the Lord of all riches, of elephants, and horses, and all good blessings; the Lord of high-built palaces, of gold; the great and most powerful Emperor in this life, the soles of whose feet are gilt, and set upon the heads of all people: we, his great governor and resident here, called Moa Acsena Tibodis, do make known to the Governor N. Higginson."—It concludes as follows:—"The mighty and powerful Emperor has done the honour to the Governor for the English Company in Madras to send him a present, being 1500 viss lack, 2500 viss tin, 300 viss ivory, six earthen dishes, and eight lackered boxes."

The next notice we have of the Burman dominions is in 1709, when Pegu is described by Capt. Alexander Hamilton, in his "New Account

of the East Indies." In interest, perspicuity, and accuracy, Hamilton's narrative is far inferior to that of Fitch, written a hundred and twenty-three years earlier. It is flippant, vague, and superficial, and bears all the marks of having been composed, as he himself acknowledges, "chiefly from the storehouse of his memory." Pegu, in the time of Hamilton, was subject to Ava; and the capital, so well described by Fitch, was a ruin. Hamilton gives some account of Ava, the Burman capital, which, he states, he had from a Mr. Roger Alison, who had been twice on an embassy to the King from the Government of Fort St. George. Of these embassies there is no account extant that I am aware of.

We have no farther account of the Burman dominions until the period of the wars carried on between the Burmans and Peguans, in the middle of the last century; when the East India Company, in the year 1755, deputed Captain Robert Baker, the commander of an East Indiaman, as their ambassador. The embassy was to the celebrated Alompra, and at a highly interesting moment of his career, immediately on his conquest of Pegu. The East India Company upon this occasion appeared rather in a shabby light. Their present, for example, was certainly a gift not fit for a King. It consisted, according to the ambassador's own account, of the following list:—



“ Four chests of gun-powder ; some shot ; two muskets ; two brass carbines ; a gilt looking-glass ; two bags of red earth, and six bottles of lavender-water.” The ambassador performed the usual prostrations. “ These,” says he, “ were performed on the knees, bowing the head three times low down, which was repeated three separate times from the palace, where it was first begun, to the palace steps.” The ambassador had some misgivings, that by this conduct he was compromising, as he himself calls it, “ the Honourable Company’s dignity.” His reply to any objections which might be urged on this head, however, are those of a man of sense. “ I answer,” says he, “ the custom of this country is well known ; that some such ceremony has been always paid ; and they that would reform the manners of a jealous prince or bigoted people, need much force or eloquence ; I was master of neither. Moreover, I was possessed of no instructions on that head, and I could not justify myself to those who had an authority to examine me, for interrupting that friendship and good understanding which we might expect to ensue from this journey, on a punctilio, which, in a little time, by prudent management, I believe may in a great measure be got over.”

The King received the English envoy in state, his two eldest sons sitting at the foot of the throne. “ Having paid him my compliments,”

says Captain Baker, “ he looked at me for some time, and at length said, ‘ How does your King do ? ’ I answered, he was well, when we had the last accounts from Europe.—‘ How old is he ? ’ Seventy-two years.—‘ Is he at peace with his neighbouring princes ? ’ Yes ; and has been since the last war with our old enemy the French, which is now about six years.” A curious conversation then ensues. The King charges the English with aiding the Peguans. Captain Baker, in reply, hopes it will in the event appear clearly to his Majesty, that if such assistance was given, it must have been through the force of the Peguans, or the fraud and device of our inveterate enemies the French. The King then ordered a letter from the English Chief of Negrais to be read ; “ to which,” says Baker, “ he gave calm attention, until coming to these words, ‘ As you will, by this means, obtain an alliance and friendship with so great a power as the Honourable East India Company, who can send you such assistance as will support your Majesty’s throne against all future rebellions, domestic feuds, and foreign enemies.’ At which he affecting a very hearty laugh, (and his officers in attendance, like true courtiers, joined in the chorus,) said, ‘ Have I asked ? or, do I want any assistance to reduce my enemies to subjection ? Let none conceive such an opinion ! Have I not, in three years’



time, extended my conquest three months journey on every quarter, without the help of cannon or muskets? Nay, I have, with bludgeons only, opposed and defeated these Peguans, who destroyed the capital of this kingdom, and took the Prince prisoner; and, a month hence, I intend to go with a great force in person to Dagoon (Rangoon), where I have an army now lying, when I will advance to the walls of Pegu, blockade and starve them out of it; which is the last town I have now to take to complete my conquest; and then I will go in quest of Bournou.\* Then, the Secretary proceeding on to these words, ‘These gentlemen may be witnesses to your Majesty’s placing your signet to the contract on your part, &c.’—he again affected the same mirth, and was, too, again joined by his courteous attendants, saying, ‘What madman wrote that?’ The letter being gone through, he says, ‘Captain, see this sword: it is now three years since it has been constantly exercised in chastising my enemies; it is, indeed, almost blunt with use; but it shall be continued to the same till they are utterly dispersed. Don’t talk of assistance, I require none: the Peguans I can wipe away as thus,’ drawing the palm of one hand over the other.”

“I told him,” says Captain Baker, “I was con-

\* The French Chief of Syrian, afterwards treacherously put to death by Alompra.

vinced of his potency, but hoped, at the same time, our voluntary offer would not be taken in bad part. He answers, ‘See these arms and this thigh;’ (drawing the sleeves of his vesture over his shoulders, and tucking the lower part up to his crutch)—‘amongst a thousand you won’t see my match. I myself can crush a hundred such as the King of Pegu. I protest, and God knows the truth of my assertion, that state is a burthen to me; ’tis a confinement which I endure only on account of the necessity there is for it towards the support of Government. I have carried my arms to the confines of China, the King of which country has sent me a rich present of curious things’ (several of which he showed me); ‘on the other quarter, I have reduced to my subjection the major part of the kingdom of Cassay, whose heir I have taken captive—see, there he sits behind you. I have also some of the Princesses in my court—they sit yonder. (Then says he to them, ‘Come forth!’ on which they passed before us.) ‘I have upwards of a hundred near relations; amongst the rest an own brother—there he sits (pointing to him); and nine children, two of them men grown—there they are: they have behaved well in the late war; the third a youth—here he is; the rest are but young.’” In this account, which is graphic and interesting, the great Alompra appears as little better than a barbarian and a



braggart. Yet he was a man of no common merit; but, on the contrary, imbued with many of the qualities necessary not only to his own personal aggrandisement, but really useful in promoting the progress of social order and civilization among his countrymen. Captain Baker gives the following character of him :---“ Being thus successful in the wars, he began now to take a princelike state on him, and to receive the compliments and courtesies usually paid to sovereigns in this country : which before he absolutely refused, saying God would send the people a prince ; he, for his part, was only as an introduction to a revolution. Thus is the rise of the present King of the Bûraghmahs, (for he is now generally allowed as such, all officers taking their oaths of allegiance to him ; and none now durst put him in mind of his having said God would appoint another king.) He is about forty-five years of age ; about five feet eleven inches high ; of a hale constitution, and sturdy though clean make, and of a complexion full as dark as the generality of Bûraghmahs : his visage somewhat long, though not thin, nor prominent ; and coarse features, a little pitted with the small-pox : his aspect somewhat grave when serious ; and, when seated in his throne, I thought he supported majesty with a tolerable grace : his temper, if I have made right inferences from my conversations with the people

—for though he were a fiend from the lower regions, his subjects, through fear as a conqueror, would extol his virtues—is hasty; and disposition severe, or rather cruel. I don't remember to have heard any instance of his justice, though he himself administers it in almost every case, that deserves to be more remembered for its impartiality than severity, though the former never fails to meet with encomiums from them about him; for he always causes, and often sees, all corporal or capital punishments to be executed to the utmost rigour of the sentence, which generally argues rather a barbarous than humane disposition.

“As to his courage, his actions have often proved it undaunted and resolute, which, with that strictness of discipline he keeps in his army, has won him his crown. He has nine legitimate children by one wife; the three first sons: the eldest married, and is about twenty-two years of age; the second about nineteen, and is married also. He has also abundant relations and dependents, whom he generally employs in posts of trust or consequence; and so many of the principal men of the country have lent a hand to his cause, and are now become interested in it, that if he happens to complete his conquest of the Peguans this season (as, putting by the assistance the French may render them, has certainly much probability in it), it will, in all human appearance, be



more than the fugitive Prince can do to retrieve his right, until some unforeseen contingencies may come to pass, or the hearts of the people, which is often seen to change, shall happen to be united in a disposition to favour his restoration."

The next embassy to the King of Ava, Alompra also, was that of Ensign Lester, in 1757, deputed by the Chief of Negrais. On this occasion, the customary etiquette of the Burman Court was complied with; the envoy approaching the King on his knees, and leaving his sword and shoes behind. Some remonstrance was attempted against this arrangement; but he was informed, "that no person, let him be of the highest rank, could have audience given them by the Great King of Ava, Pigu, &c. &c. (Allaum Praw, next to God,) if they did not conform to the above." During the audience, the envoy was somewhat incommoded from continuing too long in the Oriental posture, and upon this and other important matters expresses himself as follows:—"As I had not room to stretch my legs out, and I was somewhat uneasy, I saw a small stool behind me, which I took and sat on: this caused a laughter among the great men about me: the King asked the reason, and was informed; on which he rose up and came close to me, and laughed very heartily, and asked me what was the reason that Englishmen could not kneel; I told him we were not

accustomed to it; on which he pointed to the yard of the boat which was close by, and told me I might sit there. I told his Majesty I was not insensible of the honour he did me. He then pointed to the Prince of Persaim, and told me he had given him a new name, Mungee Narataw, on account of his good behaviour. The King then asked me several questions through the above interpreters, viz. ‘Does your King go to the wars and expose his person, as I do? Do you understand the use of ordnance, &c.? Could you point a gun, to kill a man at a great distance? Is there as much rain in your country as in this? What is the reason you wear that at your shoulder? (my shoulder-knot.) How much money does the Company pay you per month? Why don’t you black your bodies and thighs, as we do? (at the same time rising up, and showing me his thigh.) ‘Let me feel your hand;’ feeling my fingers and wrist, he said we were like women, because we did not black as above. Is there ice in your country, as in mine—small creeks froze over? I answered to all the above questions, which seemed to please them; and to the last question, I told him that I had seen a river, as broad as this his Majesty is now in, (meaning London river,) frozen over, and an ox roasted whole upon the ice; to which the King, as also all the great men about him, laughed heartily. The King asked me what



was the reason we did not leave the Negrais, and come all to Persaim, and settle there? I told him that the Negrais was a key to that river: if we lost it entirely, that the French, whom I believe we were now at war with, would likely come there; but that we should come with a firm resolution to settle at Persaim, if his Majesty would indulge us in settling the treaty, and leave a small force at the Negrais. The King then said, if all the powers in the world were to come, he would drive them out of his country. He then asked me, if we were afraid of the French; I told him that the English and French had no great liking for each other, but there never was that Englishman born that was afraid of a Frenchman."

Mr. Lester had a second audience of the King, in which his Majesty again appears as a great boaster. "The short time I was with the King, he asked me several questions of the same kind as the last time I was with him. He likewise told me that he would go to Madras, and carry a large chest of rich stones, with all sorts of other commodities which his country afforded: he likewise told me, if a nine-pound shot was to be fired out of a gun, and come against his body, it could not enter; with some other things of the same kind. As his barge was just going to put off, I asked the King if he had any commands to the Chief of Negrais; he told me he had given Antonio a

letter, which he would deliver to me; made me a present of eighteen oranges, two dozen heads of Indian corn, and five cucumbers: so I took my leave of this great Monarch, and came away; and, on our coming to the boat, Antonio told me that the boat I came in must go to Ava with the King, and I must remove to another boat, showing me a small inconvenient boat which was almost sinking. I was obliged to go into this boat, or go to Ava with the King; so I agreed, as I could not help myself. But I advise any gentleman that should come on these occasions, before they leave the Negrais, to get a good conveyance; for of all mankind which I have seen, the Bûraghmah promises the most and performs the least."

Mr. Lester obtained a grant of the Island of Negrais, and of a piece of ground at Bassein for a factory, with a favourable commercial treaty. But this was the last concession made to us, through mere diplomatic agency, by any state to the Eastward of the Bay of Bengal; and the reason is obvious. This was the very moment of the rise of our Indian empire—of the victories of Lawrence and Clive; and the progress of our arms naturally threw the Eastern princes upon their guard. In fact, two years after the mission of Ensign Lester, the Island of Negrais, reduced to a miserable garrison of a dozen individuals, by the withdrawing of the principal force for the



defence of Bengal, was cut off by an act of treachery and assassination on the part of the renowned Alompra; for it appears that the enterprise, through fair means, was above the strength of this mighty conqueror. The true motives were explained to Captain Alves, in the mission of this officer, which took place in the following year, 1760. His courtiers represented to Alompra, "that the English were a very dangerous people, and, if not prevented in time, he would find, would act in the same manner as they had done in Bengal, and on the coast, where the first settlements were made in the same manner as at Negrais, but that, by degrees, they had fortified themselves, and brought men, and all manner of military stores in, under various pretences, till they thought they were strong enough, then they pulled off the mask, and made kings whom they pleased, and levied all the revenues of the country at discretion."

The apprehension entertained by the Burmans of our power has, in all likelihood, given rise to prophecies existing amongst them, that their country is to be conquered by a race of white men. Such a prophecy is even of earlier date than the conquests of Alompra. Captain George Baker, the officer already quoted, makes the following curious statement on this subject. "I cannot help taking notice of another prophecy, universally

received, which greatly impeded any grant from the Pegu Government, though the Bûraghmah Prince seems to despise it. It is a report that, about this period, a nation wearing hats shall conquer the empire, and overthrow the Government. I mention this that I might have an opportunity of observing, that in all countries there are vulgar prophecies, which will ensure success to the politician who is observant of them."

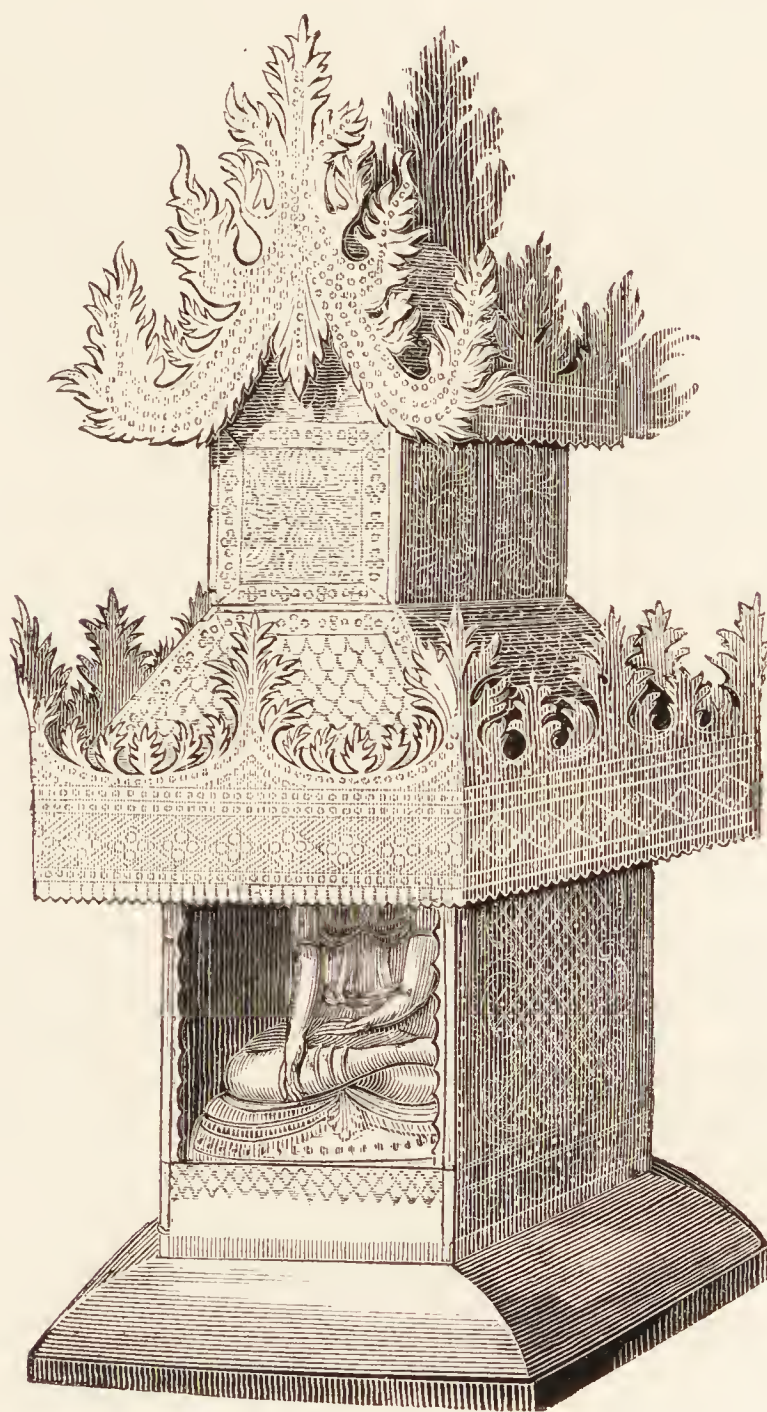
For four-and-thirty years we seem to have had little diplomatic intercourse with the Burman empire. In the mean while, the timber of Pegu became a necessary in our Indian naval and military arsenals, and this chiefly gave rise to a commercial intercourse between Pegu and our principal settlements. The conquest of Arracan by the Burmese at length made them our neighbours ; and circumstances arising out of this event, produced the mission of Captain, afterwards Colonel Symes, in 1795. The narrative of this accomplished officer, long published, is by far the most complete and satisfactory before the public. Its great fault is the exaggerated impression which it conveys of the strength and resources of the Burman empire. Colonel Symes describes the Burmese as a civilized, improving, numerous, and warlike race : a picture of them which our recent contest, and the close examination of their cha-



racter, which the results of that contest afforded us an opportunity of making, are far indeed from having verified. Colonel Symes, it should be noticed, had the advantage of being accompanied by a distinguished naturalist, and, in every department, a judicious, careful, and zealous inquirer, Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, to whom we are especially indebted for nearly all that was known of Burman geography previous to the late war.

The mission of Colonel Symes was followed, in the succeeding year, by another, under Captain Cox, of which the narrative was published in 1821. This work, with errors of style and arrangement, to be expected in a posthumous publication, abounds in useful information, and, upon the whole, exhibits a more faithful picture of the Burmans and their country, than the more ambitious and agreeable narrative of his predecessor. In 1802, Colonel Symes went on a second mission to Ava, which was attended by no satisfactory result. Of this no account has been published, nor did the envoy avail himself of the additional information which he collected, for the correction of his former statements or opinions. In 1809, Major Canning was entrusted with a mission to Ava, the difficult object of which was to explain to the Burmans the nature of our system of blockade. The information collected by

this officer tended to correct the highly-coloured picture of the Burman nation, drawn by his immediate predecessor.



Household Temple in silver, with an image of Budd'ha.





# APPENDIX.





## APPENDIX.

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### No. I.

#### ENVOY'S PUBLIC INSTRUCTIONS.

TO J. CRAWFURD, ESQ. CIVIL COMMISSIONER,  
RANGOON.

SIR:—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Dispatch of the 12th ultimo, reporting, in reply to the Instructions of the 14th April last, your sentiments on the subject of the contemplated mission of an Envoy to the Court of Ava, in which capacity you have, with your accustomed zeal for the public service, expressed your readiness to proceed to the capital.

2.—The Governor-General in Council entirely concurs in the suggestions submitted in the third paragraph of your letter, regarding the style and equipment of the Envoy, and sanctions the employment of the Diana steam-vessel for your conveyance, and the appointment of the escort of fifty Europeans, with two British officers, as therein proposed. In the event of Lieutenant Campbell, of his Majesty's 38th Regiment, being attached to the



escort, his Lordship in Council authorizes you to employ him, as suggested by you, as a second and temporary assistant during your mission, and his Excellency the Commander-in-chief will be requested to grant him leave of absence from his corps for the period in question.

3.—Regarding the general demeanour to be observed by you in your intercourse with the Court of Ava, adverted to in the sixth paragraph of your letter, I am directed to observe, that the Governor-General in Council must necessarily leave a great deal to your approved judgment and experience, concluding also, that you will shape your proceedings in ceremonials and other matters of etiquette with advertence generally to the precedents of Lieutenant-Colonel Symes and Major Canning, modifying and suiting them to existing circumstances as may seem to you politic and expedient after due consideration and consulting with Mr. Judson and others best acquainted with the character, customs, and feelings of the Burmese. His Lordship in Council observes, that you state Mr. Judson's opinions on this subject to accord with your own present views and sentiments. These opinions, it is presumed, refer to what is said by Mr. Judson of the inexpediency of reminding the Burmese of their subjection, by haughtiness of conduct, or assumption of superiority on the part of the British officers, and not to the question of the permanent residence of an Envoy at Ava. On this latter point, the Governor-General in Council does not deem it necessary to come to any final determination at the present moment, but will await the receipt of farther information from you as to the advantage or otherwise of such an arrangement, when you shall have become more intimately acquainted with the feelings and deportment of the Burman King towards the British Mission. His Lordship in Council's present notion is, that every useful purpose will be accom-

plished by a temporary residence at the capital of a few months.

4.—With regard to the subject of the seventh and following paragraphs of your letter, namely, the negotiation of the Commercial Convention provided for by the Treaty of Peace, I am directed to observe to you, that the draft of the engagement previously submitted by you in a private form, was taken into consideration in the Territorial Department, and a reference made from thence to the Board of Customs. The Governor-General in Council, concurring generally in the sentiments expressed by that Board, a copy of whose letter will be found in the accompanying extract from the proceedings of Government, in the Territorial Department, you will regulate your discussions with the Court of Ava, in the spirit of the Board's observations, adopting the principle of perfect equality and reciprocity, as stated in the third paragraph of your letter, and refraining from any attempt to obtain exclusive privileges. These, it is probable, would be viewed with jealousy by the Burman ministers, and, if conceded, might be obtained at a greater sacrifice of what we should have to yield, as an equivalent, than would be desirable, as we should thus be deprived of turning to better advantage the rights we possess under the Treaty to the third and fourth instalments. The relinquishments of part or the whole of these instalments, as you observe, is what we have to offer in return for commercial privileges; but it appears to his Lordship in Council that it would not be politic to propose such an equivalent at the present time, as, independently of other considerations, we should thereby forego a powerful hold we possess upon the Burmese, to obtain from them a satisfactory adjustment of some other points of greater importance, perhaps, than the exclusive commercial privileges contemplated, which, after all, might never come into



operation on any great scale. By commencing in our commercial dealings with the Burmese on terms of equal and reciprocal advantage, we shall secure their hearty concurrence in our views; and as the traffic between the two countries may extend, and the value of it come to be better known to the Burman Court, we may reasonably indulge the hope, that it will more readily listen to any farther propositions connected with commerce which we may then bring forward, and consent to an arrangement for granting to us such exclusive privileges as, with our farther experience of their character and conduct, we may deem it advisable to purchase in the mode contemplated. In the existing uncertainty, with regard to the ultimate disposal of our territorial acquisitions on the Martaban and Tennasserim coast, his Lordship in Council would be unwilling to enter into any complex commercial arrangements which, after all, might prove to be of little practical value.

On the whole, it appears to his Lordship in Council the most advisable course to simplify, as much as practicable, the terms of commercial relations with the Government of Ava, and to avoid going into many of the details contained in your sketch of a Commercial Treaty, which, it is to be apprehended, would only tend to excite suspicion and jealousy, and be followed by few practical results. His Lordship in Council is happy to observe, that in the ninth paragraph of your letter you appear yourself to be of opinion that it would not be politic to come to a hasty decision on the relinquishment of the remaining instalments, and that farther inquiry and experience are necessary.

6.—On the subject of the establishment of a Consul or Commercial Agent at Rangoon, discussed in the eleventh paragraph of your letter, his Lordship in Council deems it sufficient to observe, that under the present impression of the inexpediency of maintaining permanently a Resident at

the Court of Ava, it is not considered of any importance whether or not the Burmese Court consent to recognize a second local British authority in Ava. The principal British authority, under whatever designation, of Resident, Agent, or Consul, may himself generally reside at Rangoon; and on the occasion of his proceeding to the capital on any special duty, some subordinate authority may be left to officiate at Rangoon—an arrangement to which his Lordship in Council does not imagine the Court of Ava can have any possible objection.

7.—The subject adverted to in the concluding paragraph of your letter, namely, the settlement of the line of demarcation, is one of great importance, and may form, his Lordship in Council conceives, one of the most delicate and difficult discussions with the Court of Ava. As far as regards Assam, his Lordship in Council does not anticipate any objections on the part of the Burmese Government, since, when once excluded from Assam itself, the Burmese Government can have little interest in maintaining any authority over the rude tribes of the adjoining country, who are too poor to hold out any inducement to the Burmans to establish themselves in that quarter. The Governor-General in Council is unable to furnish you with any precise information touching the boundaries of Eastern Assam; but these instructions will be accompanied by copies of the latest correspondence with the Agent to the Governor-General on the north-east frontier, on the subject in question; and in any discussions with the Court, you will assume the line laid down by Mr. Scott; consenting, however, to any farther local inquiry which may be necessary, and offering to refer the point to your Government for its orders.

8.—In like manner I am directed to transmit to you copies of a recent correspondence with the Commissioner in



Sylhet, regarding Munnipore, which will place you in full possession of the views and sentiments of Government with respect to Rajah Gumbheer Singh. His Lordship in Council trusts, that as the Burmese themselves retreated from the Kubboo district, and retired beyond the Neengte, you will succeed in establishing that river as the boundary. You will of course consult the senior Commissioner fully on this subject, and avail yourself of all the information he possesses, as to what passed between him and the Burmese Commissioners at Yandabo, regarding Munnipore and its Chief. It is obvious that we possess in the remaining instalments more than an equivalent to obtain the satisfactory adjustment of all disputed points regarding the boundaries of Assam and Munnipore, as well as those to the southward; but his Lordship in Council would not wish that any thing definitive should be settled, without farther reference to your Government, since in the interval we may expect to obtain more correct information from Mr. Scott and Mr. Tucker. With regard to Gumbheer Singh in particular, you will observe, on reference to the Correspondence, that the views and wishes of that chieftain are still very uncertain. It is to be borne in mind also, that we may have equivalents in land (as well as in the remaining money due to us) to offer for the adjustment of a well-defined boundary on the Assam and Munnipore frontier; since our permanent occupation of all the territory ceded to us on the Martaban and Tenasserim coast is by no means finally settled, but contingent on the decision of the Authorities in England. Relatively to our boundary on the side of Aracan, the Governor-General in Council persuades himself that no serious difficulties will be found to exist, the range of mountains referred to in the third article of the Treaty of Peace appearing to extend to the very southern extremity at Negrais. If, however, the Burmese should appear to possess a just

claim to any lands where the range of mountains may be ill-defined, or may not be admitted as the line of demarcation described in the Treaty, you will endeavour to ascertain, as correctly as possible, their position and extent, and report the circumstances for the consideration of his Lordship in Council, and the matter will remain for final adjustment by commissioners, as provided for in the Treaty. The Governor-General in Council deems it proper, in this place, to advert to your dispatch on the subject of the Island of Negrais, which you conceive would form a very desirable acquisition to us at the mouth of the Bassein river. The subject is one deserving of consideration, and should not be lost sight of in the event of any future exchange of territory ; but you will be careful not to originate at the present time any propositions for farther cessions of territory, though you may receive any offers on their part for mutual exchanges.

9.—On the side of Martaban you appear to contemplate the probability of discussion with the Court of Ava, whose feelings, in respect to their loss of territory in that quarter, will, you apprehend, be aggravated by the emigration of its subjects. His Lordship in Council is fully sensible of the extreme difficulty which the British Commissioners experienced in settling the boundaries in that quarter, with the defective information which they then possessed. The proceedings of the Commissioners relative to the conference held with the Plenipotentiaries of the King of Ava on the subject of the fourth article of the Treaty are also imperfect, and do not show whether the Saluen river was agreed to as the line of demarcation, after the maps therein referred to had been inspected by the Burman Agents, though it may be presumed that this was the case. This subject will be more fully adverted to in a separate letter respecting Martaban : but I am directed to observe, in this place, that



on all doubtful points connected with the boundaries of the ceded territories, the Governor-General in Council would lay it down, as a rule for your guidance, that the Burmese should have the benefit of the most liberal construction of the Treaty. With regard to the principal island, namely, that called in our charts Pelew and Bruce's Island, his Lordship in Council understood, from the senior Commissioner, that it was known to lie distinctly to the south or south-east of the main channel of the Saluen river, and was consequently included in the cession to us; but his Lordship in Council authorizes you to receive any proofs which the Burmese may offer of their title, under the terms of the Treaty, and to refer the question for the farther consideration of Government, accompanied, of course, by all the local information which has since the Treaty been collected by the officers deputed to that quarter.

10.—You will not have failed to observe that hitherto the Governor-General in Council has treated the question of negotiating the satisfactory adjustment of boundaries by the relinquishment, if necessary or expedient, of a part or the whole of the two remaining instalments, under the supposition that we are to retain our recent acquisitions on the Martaban and Tennasserim coast. As the question of occupation will be farther discussed in my separate letter, in reply to your dispatches relating more particularly to those territories, it will be sufficient to observe here, that if it be hereafter determined to withdraw from the whole, or the greater portion of them, many of the questions relating to boundaries in other quarters will be of comparatively easy adjustment, as we shall then have so much to offer in exchange; and with regard to the right to the islands of the Saluen river, no question need be raised at all.

11.—Enclosed, I have the honour to transmit to you the English draft of the letter which the Governor-General has

addressed to the King of Ava. The original, with your credentials and the presents for his Majesty, will be transmitted to you from the Persian Department.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

*Fortwilliam,*  
30th June, 1826.

GEORGE SWINTON,  
Secretary to the Government.

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No. II.

ENVOY'S REPORT OF HIS MISSION.

TO GEORGE SWINTON, ESQ. SECRETARY TO THE  
GOVERNMENT.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

SIR—I have the honour to lay before his Excellency the Right Honourable the Vice-President in Council a full and circumstantial narrative of the proceedings of the Mission to the Court of Ava, from the period of its quitting Rangoon. Referring to the details therein contained, I shall confine my present dispatch to a few necessary remarks, and explanations upon the results of the Mission.

From the narrative of our proceedings, it will be seen that, on the 23d of November, a Commercial Treaty was concluded with the Burmese Government, a copy of which is appended to this dispatch. I had not the advantage of receiving the public and detailed instructions of Government until the day after that document was signed and sealed. I trust, however, it will be found that, in the conduct of the discussion throughout, I have followed the principles laid down for my guidance in the general instructions



of Government, as well as in the confidential suggestions with which I had been favoured.

The copious sketch of a Treaty which I had the honour to submit to the Government in my dispatch of the 5th of June, was soon discovered to be inapplicable to the present state of our relations with the Burmese Government, to the feelings, and the ascertained character of the Court. This document, which originally consisted of twenty-two articles, was therefore reduced to seven, before it was even proposed to the Burman Government. Two of these seven, which were afterwards objected to by the Burmese as not being strictly of a commercial nature, were abandoned on my part without much difficulty, in order to obviate the risk of exciting suspicion or jealousy, as well as with the hope of facilitating the attainment of other conditions, which appeared to be more essential. The Treaty, as it was finally carried, consists only of four articles, upon which I proceed to offer a few remarks.

The substance of the Treaty throughout is, with little exception, the same as that of the draft originally given in by me at the commencement of the negotiation; but the style and diction are entirely Burman, and no English original exists. The motives which induced me to rest satisfied with a Burman version only, are recorded on the proceedings of the Mission, and I hope will be approved by the Government. I shall only add at present, that the terms and idiom being purely Burman, and the unrestricted choice of its own officers, there will, it may be hoped, be less risk of its being misconstrued or misapplied, than was found during the negotiation to be the case with the Treaty of Peace, of which I may truly affirm, that there was not one provision which the Burmese Court did not attempt, in some shape or other, to put a forced construction favourable to its own interests, and too often in direct variance both with the letter and spirit of the agreement.

The first article of the Convention stipulates generally for a free commercial intercourse between the subjects of the two Governments, and for protection to the persons and property of those engaged in trade. It in fact, however, makes no real alteration in the circumstances under which that trade has been long conducted; but it may be said to secure, by the formalities of a public instrument, a branch of British commerce which had hitherto existed only by sufferance.

By the second article of the Treaty, all British vessels, not exceeding fifty tons burthen, or thereabouts, are exempted from the payment of tonnage duties and port charges. This places our trade in the ports of the Burman Empire nearly on a footing with that of its own subjects and of the Chinese, whose boats and junks seldom exceed the tonnage now mentioned, and who have always been exempt from the payment of such charges. The stipulation makes no change in the state of the Burman trade at British ports. The privilege thus secured to us may, it is hoped, give rise to a coasting trade of some value and extent between the Burmese ports and our various settlements in the Bay of Bengal.

The third article secures some advantages to British merchants resident in the Burman dominions, although far short of those required by the justice and necessity of the case.

According to the Burman laws, all vessels shipwrecked upon the coast are forfeited, and become the property of the King. This arbitrary and unjust law is cancelled by the fourth and last article of the Convention, which stipulates for British property shipwrecked, the same immunity and protection as under civilized governments.

The greatest obstacle to the extension of British commerce in the Burman dominions, was the rigid prohibition which has at all times existed against the exportation of



the precious metals. The Government will perceive the ineffectual attempts which I made to overcome it. The Burmese Government entertains a strong prejudice against the exportation of gold and silver, conceiving that it tends to the inevitable impoverishment of the country. The evidence which exists on the proceedings, however, will show that it was not of such a nature, but that it might have been overcome. This however, as will be seen by the records of the negotiation, must have been effected at such sacrifices as would not have been worth the cost. The Burman Government, in fact, did not fail to observe, in the course of the discussions, that this was the only concession of moment which it had in its power to make, in return for demands of vital consequence which it had resolved to make through its own ambassadors in Bengal; and it determined, therefore, to withhold it, presuming that it might be held out to us as an equivalent in a future negotiation.

Another grievance which was severely felt by British merchants, native, and European, residing in the Burman dominions, was the prohibition to take along with them their families upon quitting the country. I endeavoured, in vain, to procure the abrogation of this custom, which was refused on the same principle as that concerning the exportation of the precious metals, viz. a desire to produce it as a set-off against the large demands which it was in contemplation to make in Bengal.

From the sketch thus exhibited, the Government will perceive that much has not been effected in respect to our commercial relations with the Burmans. The path has, however, been cleared for entering into more liberal and extended arrangements, should it hereafter be found expedient to renew the negotiation. The temper of the Court of Ava, on this particular point, has been fully ascertained,

and the records of the discussion will render any future negotiation safe and easy.

The next question which I have the honour to bring under the notice of the Right Honourable the Vice-President in Council, is that of our Eastern frontier. The Government will perceive with satisfaction, from the records of the negotiation, that the Burmese Government acknowledges not only the independence of Assam and Cachar, but of Munnipore. This result has arisen from the fortunate circumstance of the article of the Treaty of Yandabo, which refers to this particular subject, being more distinctly and fully worded in the Burman than in the English version, as will be observed from the literal translation of that document, which, for convenience of reference, I have appended to this report.

As far as Munnipore in particular is concerned, it will be perceived that in the Burman translation there is super-added to the English version this strong expression, that "Gumbheer Singh shall not be molested in the government of his principality by the King of Ava," which is interpreted by the Burmese Government to amount to an exclusion from all interference whatever on its part. These sentiments are fully explained in the note given in by the Burmese negotiators at the conference of the 3d of November. Having ascertained the temper of the Burman Court upon this subject, I communicated my sentiments on the independency of Munnipore, in a note delivered in at the conference of the 5th of November. No objections were offered to the opinions expressed in this document, either at the time, or in the discussion which took place on the 10th of November; so that the independence of Munnipore upon the Court of Ava may be considered as a point clearly determined.

The limits of the two countries, however, still continue



unsettled, and this question must become the subject of future negotiation. At present, the claims of the two parties seem difficult to reconcile. As far as I am able to form a judgment from the few facts which have come to my knowledge, those of the Burmese Government are so extravagant, that, could they be substantiated, Gumbheer Singh would be deprived of the larger portion of what he considers, and, I suspect, justly, the proper principality of Munnipore. The legitimate boundaries of the two countries can only be ascertained and fixed by local inquiry and investigation instituted by British agents, and through the mediation of the British Government; for, to leave so delicate and difficult a matter to be adjusted between the parties themselves in the present state of their feelings, would inevitably produce such a collision of interests as must end in hostilities between them.

It is the probability of our being their immediate neighbours at Munnipore, which has chiefly alarmed the Burmese Government. They are sufficiently aware, that from this point their capital and the heart of their dominions are open to invasion either by land or water. Their apprehensions on this subject are expressed in the note of the Burman negotiators of the 3d of November, already quoted; and more fully in the conferences of the 5th and 10th of the same month. I trust, the Right Honourable the Vice-President in Council will approve of the explanations which I afforded, with a view of removing the fears of the Burmese Government on this point. I considered myself warranted, in making the assurance that the British Government had no intention of occupying Munnipore, and that Gumbheer Singh should not be aided either in men, money, or advice, to the prejudice of the Burmese Government. This explanation was founded on the ground of what was admitted by the British Com-

missioners at Yandabo, in the conference of the 23d of February 1826, when it was expressly conceded that we had no intention of occupying Munnipore ourselves, as well as by the spirit of the instructions of Government, conveyed in the eighth paragraph of a dispatch to my address of the 30th of June.

By the strict letter of the Treaty of Yandabo, it does not appear that we are precluded from occupying the Munnipore territory, or from admitting Gumbheer Singh into the number of our tributaries; but, as no mention was made at the conferences of our intention of doing so, the Burmese Government have a fair claim to any doubt which may arise on the subject. Still, Munnipore must virtually be considered as an ally of the British Government; and, in the event of the principality being endangered by the hostility of the Burmans, we shall become necessarily guarantees for the security of a State, the independence of which we have ourselves established by Treaty; and of which the safety will probably be found a condition necessary to the preservation of peace, and the integrity of our frontier, at a point where it is unquestionably the weakest.

The Government will observe from the minutes of the conference of the 10th of November, that I was anxious to send a British officer across to Munnipore, for the purpose of collecting information, chiefly on the subject of the frontier between that State and Ava; and the Burman negotiators appeared at first to give their assent to this measure. After the conference in question, however, neither this point, nor any other respecting Munnipore, was brought forward by the Burman Authorities; and, on my part, I carefully abstained from renewing the subject in any shape, for fear of exciting the well-known jealousy of the Burmese Court on all such points, as well



as because I was satisfied that the negotiation in this respect had already been productive of all the results contemplated by the Government in my instructions.

In reference to the Aracan frontier, I have much satisfaction in reporting, that no question whatever has arisen. The Burmese version of the Treaty of Yandabo is so full and clear upon this point, as to have fortunately precluded the possibility of any exception being made on the part of the Burmese Government.

The question of frontier at Martaban became early a subject of discussion, as Government will perceive by the minutes of the conference of the 22d October, one of the first which was held. The subject was renewed in a more formal manner by the Burman negotiators on the 12th of November, by the production of a note, which, as well as my reply, will be found in the minutes of that day's conference. A conversation followed, which will also be found duly recorded. The result of this conference established the Saluen river, in the amplest and clearest manner, as the boundary between our southern acquisitions, and the Burman territory. A farther answer to the paper given in by me on the 12th was promised in a conference which took place on the 17th, but it was never furnished; nor was the claim of the Burman Government renewed in any form whatever. On the contrary, at one of the last conferences which took place, our occupation of the eastern bank of the Saluen was referred to by the Burman negotiators as a permanent arrangement.

The subject of Balú Island, in the channel of the Saluen river, was never introduced at all by the Burman negotiators; and I also abstained from bringing it forward, seeing that no advantage could accrue from agitating a question which may be easily settled at any time on the basis laid down in the 3d and 4th articles of the Treaty of Yan-

dabo ; or the cession of which may be obtained, should it be found expedient, by the relinquishment of money or other territory.

His Excellency the Right Honourable the Vice-President in Council will observe, that the opinions expressed by the senior Commissioner, in a dispatch from the Commissioners at Rangoon, dated the 15th August, in reference to the Martaban frontier, are fully substantiated by the results of the negotiation at Ava. The Saluen river, it will appear, was deliberately selected as the line of demarcation, by the British Commissioners at Yandabo ; the fullest explanations were afforded to the Burman Commissioners during the conferences, and they were not called upon to sign the Treaty, until they had ample time to deliberate upon its contents. It fortunately happened, that one of the Commissioners of Yandabo was also a negotiator at Ava, while the two interpreters were also present ; so that the fairest and amplest opportunity was offered of invalidating the statements produced by me,—or of adducing evidence of Burmese claims, had any existed.

The question of emigration from the Burman dominions to the territories ceded to the British Government, was one which it was believed might have led to serious and difficult discussions with the Burman Court. This by no means, however, turned out in the sequel to be the case. The subject was not privately hinted at, nor publicly introduced, until the last conference but one. Upon that occasion, no claim was made to the individuals who had emigrated ; and the sole object of the Burman Government seemed to be to sow dissension between those individuals and us, by representing them as dangerous and disloyal persons. The fact is, that the question of emigration into our territories was one of local interest at Rangoon only ; that it excited little interest, and was little understood by the Court ; and



that the partial communication which was made on the subject nearly at the close of the negotiation, seems to have originated in a casual communication made from the Authorities in the lower provinces about this time.

The introduction of the question of emigration by the Burmese negotiators, appeared a suitable moment for bringing forward the important question of the release of the Asiatic prisoners seized by the Burman Government in the course of the war, and detained in contravention of the eleventh article of the Treaty of Yandabo, which was accordingly done in the conferences of the 2d and 5th of December, a note being formally given in on the latter day on the subject. As far as the statements of the prisoners themselves can be relied upon, it appears that there are from six to seven thousand persons, taken captive during the war, now forcibly detained in the Burman dominions, and in a state of slavery : these chiefly consist of natives of Munnipore, Cachar, and Assam, with a few inhabitants of the district of Sylhet.

By the English draft of the Treaty of Yandabo, the release of all prisoners whatsoever, European, American, or Asiatic, is expressly stipulated for. The Burman version, however, is not so favourable ; for, as far as Indian are concerned, it provides only for the release of such persons as come under the name of *black Kulas* ; that is to say, as far as the present case is concerned, of all persons of the Christian, Mohammedan, and Hindoo persuasions, being inhabitants of the states and countries lying north-west of the Burman dominions. I much fear that it excludes the followers of the Buddhist faith, who are inhabitants of Aracan, Cassay, Cachar, and Assam ; composing, in all probability, the majority of the prisoners.

The honour of the Government is concerned in seeing justice done to the unfortunate persons now alluded to ;

and I am in hopes that the Burmese Court, through its ambassadors about to be sent to Bengal, may be disposed to enter into such an arrangement for their relief, as justice and good faith require. Promises to this effect were held out to me confidentially; but when I consider the disingenuousness and pertinacity evinced by the Burmese Authorities upon this subject in the course of the discussions, I do not venture to entertain any very sanguine hopes of success.

The payment of the fourth and fifth instalments of the crore of rupees, due on the Treaty of Yandabo, was, as the Government will perceive by the proceedings, a subject of repeated discussions during the negotiation. It was first introduced in the propositions given in by the Burmese negotiators at the conference of the 3d of November. That document is obviously worded with studied ambiguity, and it is very difficult to collect from it to what extent the demands of the Burmese Government are intended to be carried. They amount, however, at least to a demand for the remission of the two last instalments.

My reply to this paper is contained in a note delivered in at the conference held on the 5th of November. Government will there perceive, that I took upon myself the responsibility of proposing to put off the period of paying the instalments for a limited time, on certain conditions, fully detailed on the proceedings. The motives which induced me to take this step are now to be explained. I was, in the first place, thoroughly convinced of the incapacity of the Burmese Government to make punctual payment of the instalments as they became due; and that therefore some arrangement to facilitate to them the means of payment was absolutely necessary, if for no other reason than to prevent embarrassment to ourselves.

Of the poverty of the present Burman Government, as



far as my inquiries go, there can be no question. The late King of Ava, by disposition parsimonious, after a reign of thirty-eight years, more peaceful and tranquil than that of any of his predecessors, had accumulated a treasure, which, for a Burman prince, may be considered considerable. I have received three distinct accounts, from as many different quarters, of the amount of this treasure. The highest statement makes it 7,500,000 ticals of flowered silver; and the second, upon which I place most reliance, makes it only 4,600,000. The third statement, which is also from good authority, gives only the treasure in silver, which it estimates at 3,600,000. By this last account, the amount of gold is alleged to have been very inconsiderable. All the three accounts assert, that the whole of this sum has been expended by his present Majesty in the removal of his capital, in the building of extensive palaces and temples, but, above all, in conducting the late war, towards the latter part of which, it is sufficiently known that large disbursements, contrary to the general usage of Government, were made from the public treasury.

His present Majesty ascended the throne in the year 1819, and in pecuniary matters is of a very opposite character from his predecessor. He has no passion for accumulating money, and has hitherto levied no contributions, having that object immediately in view, as his predecessor had frequently done. During a considerable part of his short reign, he has been engaged in an expensive contest; has been long deprived, by our occupation of it, of the revenue of that portion of his country which had hitherto contributed the most to filling the public treasury; besides having, over and above these causes, already paid to ourselves, with the assistance of contributions from his courtiers, a sum amounting, by Burman estimation, to 3,750,000 ticals.

The treasure which is not already in the public coffers is certainly not likely soon to be collected from a country essentially poor. The results of my inquiries, of which I shall have the honour soon to lay an abstract before the Government, go to prove that the Burman territory is but very partially cultivated, and thinly peopled by a race of inhabitants who have made little progress in useful industry. The financial system of the Government is rude, barbarous, and inefficient, beyond what can be easily believed. No regular land revenue, as in other Asiatic countries, is collected, on account of the sovereign, the great majority of the lands being given away in Jageer to the members of the royal family, to public officers, and to favourites, in the form of pensions or salaries, and a mere trifle being reserved for the King. Of the amount of the available public revenue, a just opinion may be formed from this well-known fact, that the most considerable item of it is the revenue of the port of Rangoon, of which the King's share certainly has not exceeded three lacs of ticals a-year.

No disbursements in the shape of money are almost ever made from the treasury, as no money-salary is paid to any officers, from the highest to the lowest,—all those who have no lands, living as they can upon the produce of fees, perquisites, and extortions. Even the Government itself does not touch upon its hoard, except on very extraordinary occasions, and may be said to support itself as if it were from hand to mouth. If an embassy is to be sent to a foreign country, a contribution is levied for the purpose; if an army is sent upon an expedition, the necessary expenses are raised on the spur of the moment; if a temple is to be built, the same thing is done; and so on, in all other cases. When the remaining instalments are to be paid to us, this is the mode in which the money will inevitably be raised, even supposing considerable funds to exist in the King's



coffers. It may well be believed that under a Government so rude and unskilful, and from a country so exhausted and misgoverned, no large accumulation of public treasure can reasonably be expected.

These grounds, I trust, will appear to the Government sufficient to warrant me in having proposed an arrangement for the temporary remission of the third and fourth instalments. That arrangement, as will be seen from the narrative of the proceedings of the Mission, was not carried into effect; the Burman Government having declined, after much discussion, and much vacillation of conduct, to make in return the necessary equivalents, and having proposed themselves to make this particular point the subject of a negotiation with the Supreme Government, through their ambassadors in Bengal.

In my correspondence from Rangoon, anticipating difficulty and embarrassment in paying them, I had the honour to recommend to the Supreme Government the relinquishment of the two last instalments due on the Treaty of Yandabo, in consideration of certain commercial advantages. The experience which I have since had of the Government of Ava, convinces me that my first opinion was erroneous. I am now thoroughly convinced that no part of the debt due should be hastily, if at all, relinquished; and that its existence forms one of the best and most effectual restraints which we could possibly possess upon the wilfulness, pride, and presumption, which are such marked features of the character of the Burman Government.

Although it be my conviction that the debt ought not to be relinquished, it is at the same time my opinion that it would be a matter of much convenience, both to ourselves and to the Burmese, to enter into an arrangement which may facilitate its liquidation. Government will observe from the proceedings, that the Burmese, at one period of the ne-

gotiation, were about to make a proposition for paying interest on the capital sum for a limited number of years. Subject to the final sanction and approval of Government, I was disposed to entertain this proposition favourably; but it was soon abandoned by the Burmese Government itself, under the belief that more favourable conditions than could be hoped for from me might be obtained by an appeal to Bengal. Were an arrangement on this principle concluded, the result would virtually amount to the payment of a tribute on the part of the Burmese Government, and to a long continued dependence upon us. A sum comparatively so small as the interest of fifty lacs of rupees would be paid without serious difficulty, and its amount would, at the same time, be sufficient to support all those diplomatic and military establishments on the southern frontier, from the maintenance of which our hopes of preserving peace with so vain, fickle, and ambitious a power as that of the Burmans must, after all, mainly rest.

It will be seen that, in the course of the negotiation, every proper opportunity was taken of impressing upon the Burmese Government our right, by Treaty, to maintain a resident Political Agent at its Court. This is a privilege which certainly ought not to be abandoned, because some contingency may possibly arise to make its exercise expedient. In the mean while, I am decidedly of opinion, that the maintenance of a permanent Political Agent at Ava would be a measure more likely to impair than support our interests at that Court.

Upon the subject now under discussion, I had the honour to submit to Government an early opinion in a minute of the 27th of March last, placed on the records of the Commissioners for Ava and Pegu. The sentiments expressed in that document are, as I conceive, amply corroborated by the experience and results of the present Mission. I



may here repeat, that a British resident at Ava, distant by a navigation of 1200 miles (near 500 of it within the Burman territory, where every species of communication is placed under the most rigorous and vexatious restraint) from the authority he represents, and an object of perpetual jealousy to a Government indescribably ignorant and suspicious, could exercise little useful influence upon the councils of that Government, would have no means of furnishing his own with useful intelligence, and would, in a word, be placed in a situation amounting to little better than an honourable imprisonment.

The circumstances which attended the residence of the present Mission at Ava afford confirmation of this opinion. During nearly a period of two months and a half, although a British force was still at Rangoon, I found myself compelled, by the temper of the Government, to abstain from all correspondence. The same feeling was evinced at every station of our route, up and down; so that, in a period altogether of four months and a half, no communication could be made to the Government of our proceedings, with the exception of the casual and precarious one which was made by the route of Aracan.

I may add that, in return, Sir A. Campbell had no means of communication with us, except by transmitting dispatches under a military escort; and that one letter, addressed by a British officer to a member of the Mission, was detained and perused, after our own arrival at Ava; while the officers of the Burmese Government acknowledged that, immediately after the conclusion of peace, they had broken the seals of, and detained a public dispatch, under circumstances peculiarly aggravating.

The circumstances which took place on the arrival of the Government dispatch by way of Aracan may be referred to, in farther corroboration. Although its transmission was

managed with the greatest prudence and discretion, it excited alarm on the part of the Burmese Court, and, as will be seen from the record of my proceedings, its arrival was accompanied by circumstances of a disagreeable nature, strongly characteristic of the jealousy and suspicion of the Burmese Government.

Another proposal which has been suggested, is that of maintaining a resident Agent at Rangoon. This would, no doubt, be an arrangement most agreeable to the vanity, pretensions, and jealousy of the Burmese Government; but I do not hesitate in pronouncing it as open to still more cogent objections than the other. The Agent of the British Government, in this case, would be inevitably shut out from all communication with the Court of Ava, and become virtually and practically the representative of the Supreme Government of India, to the Provincial Government of Pegu. His services would be of some value for the protection of British commerce at the port of Rangoon; but, jealously and narrowly watched, he would be possessed, in his political capacity, neither of influence nor of utility.

Having stated these objections against attempting to maintain our political relations with the Burmese Government by means of diplomatic Agents residing in the country, I have the honour to submit my sentiments on the mode in which it appears to me that those relations may be best and most effectually supported. I have no hesitation in thinking that, generally, all our future intercourse with the Government of Ava ought to be conducted through the military or civil officer vested with the chief political authority on the Saluen frontier; that little direct communication should be held between the Supreme Government and the Court of Ava, and certainly none at all between it and any subordinate Burman authority. The Burmese



Government, on their side, have evinced a determination to conduct, as far as they may be allowed, their correspondence with us through the Governor of Pegu, and this arrangement will certainly not fail to meet with their approbation.

The chief British Authority on the Saluen frontier, under the circumstances which I now suppose, will be exactly on a parity of rank and station with the Governor of Pegu; and, being situated within a few hours' sail of the residence of that officer, will always be able to maintain with him a frequent, friendly, and unembarrassed intercourse. A British officer thus situated, with a great part of the Burman frontier open to him, and with frequent communication with merchants, travellers, and other native inhabitants, would be possessed by himself, or through confidential agents, of the means of furnishing the Government with information much more extensive and authentic than it would be possible for the most intelligent and active individual to supply either at Rangoon or Ava, jealously watched as both he himself and those who might be disposed to furnish him with intelligence would unquestionably be at either of those places.

One question of much consequence requires a few observations, viz. the probability or otherwise of the continuance of peace with the Burmese Government. The events of the late war have left, both upon the Court and people, a strong and universal impression of the superiority of our arms. For a few years to come, the renewal of hostilities on the part of the Burmese Government may, I believe, safely be considered as a very improbable event. At present, the Burmese are destitute of the munitions of war, and the inhabitants are so utterly indisposed to a renewal of the contest with the British power, that, even were the Court capriciously resolved on war, it could not venture

upon making the necessary levies in men or money, without incurring certain risk of bringing on insurrections and rebellions, which would endanger its existence.

It is certain, notwithstanding, that a disposition to renew the contest whenever an opportunity may occur, is seriously entertained on the part of the Burmese Court; and that they will systematically pursue such means as they imagine themselves to possess for making the necessary preparations for it. The vain pretensions and arrogant spirit which have so long characterised the Burman Court, are, as the Government will perceive from the records of the negotiation, little abated. It seems determined to maintain its pretensions, and to long for an opportunity of extending again its pernicious dominion over the petty nations on its north-west frontier, as well as to recover the provinces wrested from it by the British power.

It is natural to ascribe such a disposition to the Burmese Government in its present situation; but, independent of this, several circumstances came to our knowledge during our residence at Ava, which strongly corroborated the views thus ascribed to it. In the deliberations which took place at Ava, and which led to the negotiations at Melloon and the peace at Yandabo, the only argument which the European and American prisoners, and other advocates for peace, ventured to address to the presumption and vanity of the Government, notwithstanding that a victorious enemy was within forty miles of its capital, was, that the Burmese should patch up a peace in the mean while, only for the purpose of making the necessary preparations for renewing the contest on the first favourable opportunity.

Respecting the results of the late war, the general impression abroad among the officers of the Burmese Government, whose sentiments we had an opportunity of ascer-



taining, is, that they were worsted not owing to our superior courage, but to our possession of arms and discipline, —advantages, according to their account, merely fortuitous. In regard to fire-arms especially, they believe that little more is required than an ample supply of these to enable them to renew the war with every prospect of success. They are already making some feeble efforts to supply this want, by purchasing muskets wherever they can obtain them, giving at least double the prices at which the Americans have of late been enabled to supply the Siamese. There can be no doubt, but that, through the French and American trade, they will soon be furnished to the full extent of their means of purchasing.

The same spirit accounts for the avidity with which they receive European and Indian deserters, even to camp followers and private servants, and the facility with which they listen to pretensions made to a knowledge of fire-arms and artillery by the humblest of these adventurers.

In coming down the Irawadi, a few days after quitting Ava, it escaped from the Burmese chief who was conducting the Mission to Rangoon, that the King was now convinced of the necessity of maintaining a standing force adequately armed and disciplined; and that he was fully aware of the inefficiency of the hasty and forced levies of which the Burmese troops had heretofore consisted. With these views, he stated that his Majesty had given orders for raising a standing force of fifty thousand men, and that thirty-five thousand were already enrolled for this purpose. It is probable that this statement, if true at all, is much exaggerated; but the very circumstance of the idea being entertained is a strong indication of the temper and feeling of the Government.

Whatever may be the anxiety of the Burmese Government to maintain a standing army, it seems exceedingly

doubtful whether it possesses the means or capacity of organizing and supporting a force of this nature even upon the slenderest scale. Its financial system, as already mentioned, is rude and inefficient in the extreme. The chiefs appear to possess neither public spirit, courage, nor intelligence; and the genius of Burman institutions, civil and religious, is far from being calculated to generate military habits and feelings among the mass of the people. From the little I have had an opportunity of seeing of the Burmans, I do not hesitate to consider them as being, in comparison with all the military tribes of India, a people eminently tame and unwarlike.

The extreme jealousy which exists on the part of the Government and its officers towards Europeans of every denomination, and the illiberal and parsimonious manner in which they are treated, will always exclude persons of character and talent, capable of imparting to their troops any respectable share of European discipline and tactics, from entering into their service; and the few foreigners who may be content to remain among them under such circumstances, will generally therefore consist of worthless characters of the lowest order, from whose instructions or example they can reap no advantage.

Should the Burmese again resolve upon entering into a war, it deserves to be considered towards what portion of our frontier their hostility will most probably be directed. Considering our means of defence, and the strength of our positions on the Saluen frontier, there is, I conceive, little to be apprehended from Burmese aggression in this quarter, while they are themselves on the contrary extremely open to attack. From all I can understand, the Aracan frontier, which has a strong natural boundary, and few roads or passes practicable for an army, is equally secure.

The weakest point of the frontier established by the



Treaty of Yandabo is that probably on the side of Munnipore, as already stated. This, besides being occupied by a feeble state, is at no great distance from the Burman capital, and may readily be invaded under the most favourable circumstances to the enemy, either by the Kyendwen river, or by land. A practicable carriage-road leads from Ava to the town of Munnipore by twenty-seven easy marches of six taings, or about twelve miles, each. I went once or twice nearly the whole of the first march from Sagaing, and found the road, although altogether neglected by the Government, easy, and such as would afford no obstacle to the progress of artillery. This is the route by which the Burmans have always invaded the Cassay country, and that which will, no doubt, be pursued in any future attack or incursion.

In their relations with us, however, the first object of Burman ambition is the resumption of Aracan. It was the most considerable of their conquests, and a certain religious veneration seems to be attached to it. They will not, I imagine, fail to make an attempt to repossess themselves of it, whenever a favourable opportunity, or what they may be misled to consider as such, shall occur. The faith of treaties will certainly not restrain them from such an aggression. When Mr. P—— returned from Bengal, bringing with him the ratified Treaty of Yandabo, and was explaining to the King what came to his knowledge there on the subject of the recent arrangements with the Burmese Government, his Majesty coolly observed, “There will be no harm in our availing ourselves of the first good opportunity of seizing upon Aracan.” This sentiment was in strict accordance with the principles of Burmese diplomacy, and not a casual or inconsiderate expression on the part of his Majesty.

With the same views as actuated the Burmans in the

sentiments which they expressed in regard to Munnipore, they would be glad to see a feeble power in occupation of Aracan. A proposition, having this object in view, was, in fact, confidentially made to me while at Ava, and the Burmese officers went the length of proposing to bring to our residence a prince of the Aracan dynasty now residing neglected at Ava, and gaining a poor livelihood as a dealer in precious stones. This individual, it was suggested by them, might be placed upon the throne of Aracan, as a sovereign, at least nominally, independent. I of course declined being introduced to him, for obvious reasons.

I shall take this opportunity of submitting, before bringing the present dispatch to a close, that the spirit evinced by the Burmese Government in the late negotiation has thoroughly convinced me that our peaceful relations with it are most likely to be preserved by a strict adherence to the conditions of the Treaty concluded at Yandabo; and that whatever concession or indulgence we may be disposed to grant beyond its strict letter ought not to be yielded without much caution and consideration. The Burmese Government is already sufficiently disposed to put unwarranted constructions on the provisions of that instrument; and were the most material of them surrendered on our side, such is its presumption, its want of good faith, and want of generosity, that our liberality would inevitably be considered the result of weakness or intimidation. The minor provisions of the Treaty, in such an event, would be soon neglected,—one demand would follow upon another, and the same arrogance and the same pretensions which led to the late war would soon render another necessary.

Under this view of our relations, I have already had the honour to recommend that no part of the debt due should be relinquished without an equivalent; and I am equally convinced, that to restore any of the conquered provinces



would be impolitic. Were the finances of the Burmese Government in such a state as to render it capable, besides paying the debt of fifty lacs of rupees, of redeeming them by a pecuniary value, the subject might merit consideration; but that this is not the case is a fact in which I place the most entire belief, and for which I have already submitted my reasons.

Should our own maintenance of all, or any, of the conquered provinces be not considered politic, the placing of these under the government of independent rulers, reserving the sovereignty of such ports and places as might be necessary in a political, military, and commercial view, will, I humbly conceive, be a measure more consistent with our honour and interests, with the welfare and happiness of their inhabitants, and even with the real interests of the Burmese Government itself, than restoring them to the domination of that power, already possessed of a territory far more extensive than it has the skill to govern,—whose rule over its tributaries has always been rigorous and oppressive in the extreme, and upon whom the restoration of its distant conquests will have no other effect than that of holding out to it the temptation, and affording it the means, to make new aggressions upon its neighbours, and finally of bringing it into hostile collision with ourselves.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

J. CRAWFURD, Envoy.

*Saugor, 22d February, 1827.*

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## No. III.

## TREATY OF PEACE CONCLUDED AT YANDABO.

## ENGLISH VERSION.

Treaty of Peace, between the Honourable the East India Company on the one part, and his Majesty the King of Ava on the other, settled by Major-general Sir Archibald Campbell, K. C. B. and K. C. T. S., commanding the expedition, and Senior Commissioner in Pegu and Ava, Thomas Campbell Robertson, Esq. Civil Commissioner, in Pegu and Ava, and Henry Dacie Chads, Esq. Captain commanding his Britannic Majesty's and the Honourable Company's naval force on the Irawadi river, on the part of the Honourable Company, and Mengyee Maha-men-hlah-kyanten, Woongyee Lord of Laykaing and Mengyee-mahame-lilah-thee-ha-thoo Atwen Woon, Lord of the Revenue on the part of the King of Ava, who have each communicated to the other their

## BURMAN VERSION.

Treaty of Peace and Friendship, between the English Company's Governor-General of India and the King of Burma, made by the Chief General, the Noble Archibald Campbell, Commissioner, Robertson, Esq. Commissioner, and Chads, Esq. Commander of the English war-vessels on the Irawadi river, appointed by the Governor-General, and Mengyee Mähā-men-hlā-kyanten, Woon-gyee, Lord of Laykaing and Mengyee Mähā-men-hlā-thee-hā-thu, Atwen-woon, Lord of the Revenue, appointed by the King of Burma, at Yan-da-bo, on the fourth of the decrease of Ta-boung, in the year 1187 (Feb. 24th, 1826.)



full powers agreed to, and executed at Yandaboo in the Kingdom of Ava, on this twenty-fourth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-six, corresponding with the fourth day of the decrease of the moon Taboung, in the year one thousand one hundred and eighty-seven, Guadma era.

ART. 1st.—There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honourable Company on one part, and his Majesty the King of Ava on the other.

ART. 2nd.—His Majesty the King of Ava renounces all claims upon, and will abstain from all future interference with, the principality of Assam and its dependencies, and also with the contiguous petty states of Cachar and Jyntea. With regard to Munnipore, it is stipulated that, should Gumbheer Singh desire to return to that country, he shall be recognized by the King of Ava as Rajah thereof.

ART. 1st.—Let there be perpetual peace and friendship between the Governor-General and the King of Burma.

ART. 2nd.—The King of Burma shall no more have dominion over, or the direction of, the towns and country of Assam, the country of Ak-ka-bat, (Cachar) and the country of Wa-tha-li (Jyntea). With regard to Munnipore, if Gan-bee-rashing desire to return to his country and remain ruler, the King of Burma shall not prevent or molest him, but let him remain.

ART. 3rd.—To prevent all future dispute respecting the boundary line between the two great nations, the British Government will retain the conquered provinces of Aracan, including the four divisions of Aracan, Ramree, Cheduba, and Sandowey; and his Majesty the King of Ava cedes all right thereto. The Amoupectou-mieu or Aracan mountains, (known in Aracan by the name of the Yeoamatoung or Phokingtoun range,) will henceforth form the boundary between the two great nations on that side. Any doubts regarding the said line of demarcation, will be settled by Commissioners appointed by the respective Governments for that purpose, such Commissioners from both Powers to be of suitable and corresponding rank.

ART. 4th.—His Majesty the King of Ava cedes to the British Government the conquered provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tennasserim, with the islands

ART. 3rd.—That there may be no cause of future dispute about the boundary between the two great countries, the English Government will retain the country of Aracan, that is, Aracan, Ramree, Man-oung (Cheduba) and Than-dwa, which they have conquered; and the King of Burma shall not have the dominion. Let the Yo-ma and Bo-koung range of mountains, unto the Great Pagoda, on the Man-ten promontory (Cape Negrais) be the boundary. If hereafter there should be a dispute about the boundary, let men be appointed by the English and the Burmese Governments, to decide correctly, according to ancient limits. The men appointed, shall be respectable officers of Government.

ART. 4th.—The King of Burma cedes to the British Government the towns of Ye, Tavoy, Myik, (Mergui) and Tennasserim, with their territories, mountains, shores,



and dependencies thereunto appertaining, taking the Saluen river for the line of demarcation on that frontier. Any doubts regarding their boundaries will be settled as specified in the concluding part of Article Third.

ART. 5th.—In proof of the sincere disposition of the Burmese Government to retain the relation of peace and amity between the two nations, and as part indemnification to the British Government, for the expenses of the war, his Majesty the King of Ava agrees to pay the sum of one crore of rupees.

ART. 6th.—No person whatever, whether native or foreign, is hereafter to be molested, by either party, on account of the part which he may have taken, or have been compelled to take, in the present war.

ART. 7th.—In order to cultivate and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established between

and islands. The Salwen river shall be the boundary. If hereafter there should be a dispute about the boundary, let it be settled as specified above.

ART. 5th.—The King of Burma, in order to make manifest his desire to preserve perpetual friendship between the two great countries, and to defray part of the expenses incurred by the British Government in the war, shall pay one crore of rupees.

ART. 6th.—No person who has gone from one side to the other during the war, whether a Burmese subject who has joined the English, or an English subject who has joined the Burmese, whether voluntarily or by compulsion, shall be punished or molested on that account.

ART. 7th.—That the friendship now settled between the two great countries may be permanent, let one Govern-

the two Governments, it is agreed that accredited Ministers, retaining an escort or safe-guard of fifty men, from each shall reside at the Durbar of the other, who shall be permitted to purchase or to build a suitable place of residence of permanent materials, and a Commercial Treaty upon principles of reciprocal advantage will be entered into by the two high contracting Powers.

ART. 8th.—All public and private debts contracted by either Government, or by the subjects of either Government, with the others, previous to the war, to be recognized and liquidated, upon the same principles of ho-

ment person be appointed by the British Government, with fifty attendants and arms complete, to reside in the royal city of Burma; and let one Government person, appointed by the Burman Government, with fifty attendants and arms complete, reside in the royal city of the Governor-General. And let the Burmese Governor, residing in the Ku-la country, and the Ku-la Governor residing in the Burmese country, purchase, or build anew, as they may choose, a suitable house of wood or brick for their residence. And in order to promote the prosperity of the two nations, an additional Treaty shall be made, relative to opening the gold and silver (A Burman phrase,) road and trading one with another.

ART. 8th.—All debts contracted previous to the war, by Government people or common people, shall be completely liquidated, according to good faith. No one shall be suffered to excuse himself, saying, the war took place



nour and good faith, as if hostilities had not taken place between the two nations; and no advantage shall be taken by either party of the period that may have elapsed since the debts were incurred, or in consequence of the war; and according to the universal law of nations, it is farther stipulated, that the property of all British subjects who may die in the dominions of his Majesty the King of Ava, shall, in the absence of legal heirs, be placed in the hands of the British Resident or Consul, in the said dominions, who will dispose of the same according to the tenour of the British law. In like manner, the property of Burmese subjects dying, under the same circumstances, in any part of the British dominions, shall be made over to the Minister or other Authority delegated by his Burmese Majesty to the Supreme Government of India.

ART. 9th.—The King of Ava will abolish all exact-  
tions upon British ships or

after the debt was contracted; nor shall either party confiscate the property of the other in consequence of the war. Moreover, when British subjects die in the Kingdom of Burma, and there be no heir, all the property left shall, according to the usages of white Ku-las, be delivered to the English Government person residing in Burma; and in like manner, when Burmese subjects die in the British Kingdom, and there be no heir, all the property left shall be delivered to the Burmese Government person residing there.

ART. 9th.—When British vessels come to Burmese ports, they shall remain

vessels, in Burman ports, that are not required from Burman ships or vessels in British ports; nor shall ships or vessels, the property of British subjects, whether European or Indian, entering the Rangoon river, or other Burman ports, be required to land their guns, or unship their rudders, or to do any other act not required of Burmese ships or vessels in British ports.

ART. 10th.—The good and faithful ally of the British Government, his Majesty the King of Siam, having taken a part in the present war, will, to the fullest extent, as far as regards his Majesty and his subjects, be included in the above Treaty.

ART. 11th.—This Treaty to be ratified by the Burmese Authorities competent in the like cases, and the ratification to be accompanied by all British, whether European or Native, American, and other prisoners, who will be delivered over to the British Commissioners; the Bri-

without unshipping their rudders, or landing their guns, and be free from trouble and molestation, as Burmese vessels in British ports.

ART. 10th.—The King of Siam, the ally of the British Government, having taken part with the British in the war, shall be considered as included in the present Treaty.

ART. 11th.—This Treaty shall be ratified by Commissioners appointed by the King of Burma; and all English, American, and other black and white Ku-la prisoners shall be delivered to the British Commissioners. Also the Treaty, assented to and ratified by the Gover-



tish Commissioners, on their part, engaging that the said Treaty shall be ratified by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council; and the ratification shall be delivered to his Majesty the King of Ava, in four months, or sooner if possible, and all the Burmese prisoners shall, in like manner, be delivered over to their own Government, as soon as they arrive from Bengal.

nor-General of India, shall be transmitted to the King of Burma within four months; and all Burmese prisoners shall be immediately called from Bengal, and delivered to the Burmese Government.

(L. S.)

Signatures of the British Commissioners.

(Seal of the Lotoo.)

Signatures of Burmese Commissioners.

#### ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

—The British Commissioners being most anxiously desirous to manifest the sincerity of their wish for peace, and to make the immediate execution of the fifth Article of this Treaty as little irksome or inconvenient as possible to his Majesty the King of Ava, consent to the following arrangement with respect to the division of the sum total, as specified

#### ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

—The British Commissioners, in order to manifest their desire for peace, and that the King of Burma may pay with ease the crore of rupees mentioned in the fifth Article, when he has paid eighteen and three-quarters lacs of ticals, or one fourth part of the whole sum of seventy-five lacs of good silver, which is one crore of rupees, the Eng-

in the Article above referred to, into instalments; viz. upon the payment of twenty-five lacs of rupees, or one quarter of the sum total, (the other Articles of the Treaty being executed,) the army will retire to Rangoon. Upon the farther payment of a similar sum at that place within one hundred days from this date, with the proviso, as above, the army will evacuate the dominions of his Majesty the King of Ava with the least possible delay, leaving the remaining moiety of the sum total to be paid by equal annual instalments, in two years, from this twenty-fourth day of February, 1826, A. D. through the Consul or Resident in Ava or Pegu, on the part of the Honourable the East India Company.

lish army will retire to Rangoon. Upon farther paying eighteen and three-quarters lacs of ticals, within one hundred days from this date, the English army shall speedily depart out of the Kingdom of Burma. In regard to the remaining two parts of the money, one part shall be paid within one year from this date, and the other within two years, to the English Government person residing in Burma.

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## No. IV.

TRANSLATIONS OF BURMAN LETTERS AND  
PROCLAMATIONS.LETTER FROM THE VICEROY OF PEGU TO THE  
BRITISH COMMISSIONERS.MAHA-MEN-L'HA-RAJA, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF AND WUN-  
GYI, TO THE ENGLISH CHIEF GENERALS.

ACCORDING to the Treaty settled at Yandabo, with a view to the permanent alliance and friendship of the two nations, the requisite money was paid, and all the prisoners, Englishmen and Sepoys, were delivered up. In regard to the money subsequently due, I remained at Hentha-ta; Ne-myo-menkyan, Wun-dauk, Maha-men-l'ha-sithu, Governor of Prome, Maha-men-kyan-nau-ra-ta, Governor of Tha-ya-wa-ti, the Rewun, and the Governor of Ye, were appointed to assay and pay the money which was to be delivered in Rangoon; in doing which, there has been, I am informed, a long delay. It is certainly easy to settle the business, if the balance due on the deficiency in the quality of the silver be paid and accepted. We are taking measures in all places and in all affairs, with a view to maintain peace and friendship. The English Chief Generals are doing the same. Agreeably, therefore, to our mutually taking measures in order to a good understanding between the two nations, I am desirous of reminding you of things pertaining to permanency or perpetuity. I wish to have a meeting with the Chief Gene-

rals, and discuss some points. Give me an answer for my information.

THE WUN-GYI AND GENERAL-IN-CHIEF MAHA-MEN-L'HA-RAJA, TO THE BRITISH CHIEF GENERALS.

THE letter of the Chief General's, sent by the Collector of Revenue, Ne-myo-thi-ri-si-thu, has arrived and been communicated. The Wundauk, Ne-myo-men-kpan; the Governor of Prome, Maha-men-l'ha-su-thi; the Governor of Tha-ya-wa-ti, Maha-men-kyan-nau-ra-ta; the Re-wun, and the Governor of Ye, were appointed to pay correctly the money, which, according to the Treaty of Yandabo, was to be paid at Rangoon within one hundred days. As the balance due on deficiency in the quality of 15, 20, and 30 per cent., silver was not accepted according to former usage, a long time has elapsed in melting and delivering the money, as the Chief Generals well know. We are speaking and paying, with a view to the quiet and happiness of the towns and villages, while Men-dam-ma and Na-sat, being persons who are appointed chiefs, with titles, not regarding their duty to their Sovereign, are collecting arms and men, to the distress of the poor people of the villages, so that robbers attack and plunder to such a degree, that all the creeks and openings below Ran-gen-san-ya are impassable to trading people, which circumstances are communicated to me by people from Rangoon. It is not suitable that the villages should be thus disturbed, but punishment ought to be inflicted in order to suppress disorders and preserve quiet. When the money is paid it will be suitable, according to the principles of mutual confidence inculcated in the Treaty, in order to the quiet government of the towns and villages, to deliver them up with their chiefs. After thus delivering up, we



must meet and discuss matters with a view to maintaining friendship between the two great countries. In regard to the Commissioner and Envoy desiring to proceed to the royal presence, I am appointed by his Majesty, Wungyi and Generalissimo, with authority over all the country below Pu-gan; and it is suitable to discuss all sorts of matters at the place where the Commissioner is. According as we peaceably discuss matters with a view to the maintenance of friendship between the two great countries—consider uprightly all these things, and return an answer, that I may know——

A true translation,

A. JUDSON.

LETTER FROM THE MYO-WUN OF TONG-GO,  
TO THE BRITISH COMMISSIONERS.

The Chief of Toung-oo, Meng-teng-kyau-zwa, and officers, give information. English Commanders, the Great Kingdoms have been actively hostile with each other, and many rational beings have been destroyed: this is a matter which excites commiseration. At Yandabo the commanders of both parties withdrew their military forces, and entered into a written engagement of peace; of this fact, in the presence of the Royal Brother Ram-ma-wa-ti the Governor of Toung-u, the military commanders of Han-tha-wa-ti have been made acquainted; it is, therefore, accurately known. From Taongu, the forces sent for military operations, the Secretary Thi-ha-radra-kyau-teng and official men, receiving written directions, are caused to be withdrawn: the other forces ordered to march for military operations, are also caused to be withdrawn. The inhabitants of [the thirty-two provinces of Han-tha-wa-ti, and of the

thirty-two provinces of Martaban, without being injured in their common walks and abodes, are to be collected together, to be protected, and to remain in tranquillity. These facts are known and are consistent with the terms of pacification between the nations. There is a royal order that messengers with a letter shall be dispatched from the Royal Brother Governor of Taongu; they are accordingly dispatched. As to the order of the most glorious Sovereign, which has been received, it purports that in the contest with the English Military Commanders, men in official capacities, the poor, and the servile, who have been taken prisoners, or have sought their protection, shall not be considered as guilty, but shall dwell in peace. The tranquillity of the inhabitants of the villages and towns which have been restored by the English Commanders is a matter for their reflection. This is the information sent——

1187, waning of the Moon Tan-gu 13th  
day, 1826, April 4th.

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No. V.

#### FORM OF BURMAN OATH.

I will speak the truth. If I speak not the truth, may it be, through the influence of the Ten Laws of Demerit, viz. passion, anger, folly, pride, false opinion, immodesty, hard-heartedness, and scepticism; so that when I and my relations are on land, land animals, as tigers, bilús, elephants, buffaloes, poisonous serpents, scorpions, &c. shall seize, crush, and bite us, and we suddenly die. May the



ten calamities (occasioned by) rulers, fire, water, thieves, and enemies oppress and destroy us, and we die, and perish, and come to utter destruction. May we be subject to all the calamities that are within the body, and all that are without the body, and the pains (occasioned by) unpleasant objects of sense; and may we be seized with madness, dumbness, blindness, deafness, leprosy, and hydrophobia. May we be struck with thunderbolts and lightning by day and by night, and come to sudden death. In the midst of not speaking truth, may I be taken with vomiting clotted black blood, and suddenly die before an assemblage of the people. When I am going by water, also, may the genii who guard the waters assault me, the boat be upset, and the property be lost; and may alligators, porpoises, sharks, and all other sea monsters, seize and crush me to death. And when I change worlds, may I not arrive among men or Nats, but suffer unmixed punishment and regret, in the utmost wretchedness, among the four states of punishment, Hell, Prita, Beasts, and Athurakai.

If I speak truth, may I and my relations, through the influence of the Ten Laws of Merit, and on account of the efficacy of truth, be freed from all calamities within and without the body; and may calamities which have not yet come, be warded far away. May the ten calamities and the five enemies also, be kept far away. May bilús, tigers, elephants, serpents and scorpions, love and fear, and keep far away. May thunderbolts and lightning, the genii of waters, and all sea animals, love me; and may I be safe from them. May my wealth increase like the rising sun and the waning moon; and may the seven possessions, the seven laws, and the eight merits of the virtuous be permanent in my person. And when I change worlds, may I not go to the four states of punishment; but,

exempt from them, attain the happiness of men and Nats, and realize Merit, Reward and extinction (Nib-b'han).

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No. VI.

REGISTRY AND CONVEYANCE OF LAND.

Year 1156, 12th day of the increase of the moon Nat-dau, the Governor of A-kha-raing and wife say, the mortgage of our inheritance of, and rightful authority over, the town of A-kha-raing, from Moung-po-tan, let Meng-Chau-da-gong-na-kyan-ten and wife receive—according to the saying of the governor B'ho-dau-Ka-lo and wife Me-Aong, the original mortgage of Meong Po-to, amounting by weight to silver of 5 per cent. alloy, six hundred and fifty ticals; also, law expenses in the redemption of the town, silver of ten per cent. alloy, five hundred and fifty ticals—B'ho-dau-Ka-lo and wife Me-Aong's debt, silver twenty-five per cent. alloy, four hundred and fifty ticals. Also, payment of old debts demanded, silver five per cent. alloy, one hundred and eighty-five ticals—on account of the governor of the town Shwa-pyi-Nan-tw'ha thaong-yan receives of silver, twenty-five per cent. alloy, by weight three hundred and eight and a half ticals—Also an Atweng-wun beneath the sole of the golden foot has a demand, to pay which, B'ho-dau-Ka-lo and Me-Aong received silver, twenty per cent. alloy, weight one hundred and fifty ticals:—the sums, collectively, amounting to two thousand two hundred and ninety three and a half ticals:—the silver, to B'ho-dau-Ka-lo and Me-Aong, Meng Chau-da-gong-na-kyan-ten and wife, pay and purchase right of



possession to the town of A-kha-raing. The suburbs pertaining to the town, eastward, touch the Pagoda on the borders of La-gwun-pyin; southward, touch Dapieng creek and Kyu creek; westward, join the territory of Baong creek; northward, touch Cha-pu-taong creek, Wa-ta-re village, Kyaing-ni creek, Ma-hura creek, and ridge of hills. Regarding the suburbs (situated) at the four faces of heaven B'ho-dau-Ka-lo and Me-Aong, to Meng Chau-da-gong-na-kyan-ten and wife, the right of possession to the town of A kha-raing, for the several sums amounting to two thousand two hundred and ninety-three and a half ticals, —sell. Hereafter, at any time, if they wish to redeem the town, B'ho-dau-Ka-lo and wife shall redeem it with the purchase-money of the town and fifty per cent. interest. The transfer of the town to the possession of Meng Chau-da-gong-na-kyan-ten, children, and grand-children in succession, in presence of Tha-k'heng P'hu-ra, the Myo-Woon, their countenances being consentaneous, and the delivery of the written document, witnessed by Kyà-k'haong Aoya, also by the Government mariner, Maong-no, also, interpreter Chain-da-mo-ne. Recorder of the written document Meng-wun-ku-la-pyo, Gaong-maong-pyo; Scribe, Maonga.

The Myo-thu-gyi, his mark.

His wife Me-Aong, her mark.

## No. VII.

### TRANSLATIONS OF INSCRIPTIONS.

In conformity to a prediction contained in the revelation made by the mouth of the Deity, replete with

infinite perfections, and intent upon Nib-ban, the end of all, the grandson (descendant) of King Na-chi-shan, son of Ta-chi-shan, who completely conquered an army of nine hundred thousand Chinese, in the year 848, i. e. 1848 of the sacred era, commencing with the Deity's absorption or passing into Nib-b'han; he (the grandson) having, in the year 787 of the vulgar era, extirpated his enemies in every quarter, King of Righteousness, named Si-ri-su-d'ham-ma-raja, excelling all others in birth, wisdom, and religious zeal, ascended the throne in the Ma-g'ha year 788, with his queen and concubines; and while enjoying sovereignty in the Golden House of Gems, in the midst of the royal countries of A-ri-mat-ta-na, (Pugan,) Myen-saing, Pen-ya, Sa-gaing, and Ava, and exercising authority over great and small countries, beginning with the country of Mram-ma (Burmah), with all the high lands and mountains and sloping banks of the four rivers of E-ra, Panlaong, Paong-laong, and Kyen-twen, he considered how he should promote the religious worship of the Deity;—upon which the Nats gave information concerning Wi-thud-da-za-na-ma-nan-ha ra-pa-ri-pun-nya-wa-thi-thi-ri-thad-d'ham-ma-lin-ka-ra-thi-ha-nu-ma-ha-tha-mi, in the island of Thin-k'ho (Ceylon), called also Lan-ka Di-pa, who was capable of performing, in thought, word, and deed, the religion of the Deity, replete with wisdom and learning, and so celebrated that the Nats made offerings to him, as they did to Thi-wa-li, the own disciple of the Deity; and the King sent the chief priest, Ma-king, with a royal letter saying, that he desired to nourish the tree of religion with the water of his Lord's wisdom, and to do homage to his feet;—upon which he, (the saint,) desirous of promoting religion, crossed the great sea with certain relics of the Deity: and when the Men-ta-ra, styled Si-ri-su-d'ham-ma-maha-raja, and his consort heard



that Wi-thud-da-ya, &c., mentioned in an ancient prophecy, had arrived with sacred relics, they were penetrated with joy : as King Kap-ping and his consort, when they heard the preaching of the Deity himself, they went out to meet the saint. And when the sacred relics arrived, the earth shook, and walls were broken down, as if the Deity himself had arrived. When such miracles took place, great offerings were made, from motives of extreme religious zeal and reverence ; and the King, seeing such divine power displayed, equal to the Yamaik miracle, (the Deity exhibiting himself half fire and half water,) asked leave of the divine teacher to promote the welfare of the three orders of rational beings—men, Nats, and Brah-mas. And the teacher looked towards his disciples, with a view to the welfare of those three orders of beings ; and thus the teacher and the disciple, with mutual consent, in order to establish the sacred period of five thousand years, built the Golden Pagoda, which is like the Gem Pagoda, of King A-ba-ya-dut-ta-ka-ma-ni. On Saturday, the full moon of Tabaong, in the Ma-gha year, and the P'hus-sha year 794, on a clear spot of ground, south-west of Sa-gaing, the King built the Maha Ra-ta-na (Great Gem) Pagoda ; whose circumference is one hundred and eighty cubits, and height one hundred and twenty, and it is plastered.

MO-N'HAN-MEN-TA-RA-KRI.

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SUPREMELY devoted to the most excellent Three Gems—the Deity, his Law, and his Priesthood—all that have been, and all that are to be ; replete with glory, power, and reputation, the result of meritorious deeds performed in past transmigratory existences, through an

uninterrupted line of excellence ; pervading, by the might of his golden arm, the land and water of the whole island of Tha-pre, (the Great Eastern Island, or Jam-pu-di-pa ;) reigning in Ari-mat-ta-na, (Pugan,) Puk-ka-ya-ma, Ze-ya-pu-ra, (Old Sa-gaing,) Panga, Ava, and Sa-gaing(New); and having gained Mon'han and Ka-la on the east, exercising sovereign sway over Kyen, Len, Pra-k'haing, (Aracan,) Than-twa, (Sandoway,) and Thet-k'ha-pa; retaining in constant attendance Tho-ham-bwa, King of Man, who resisted one day only; entitled to homage, as a divine personage, in consequence of possessing supernatural wisdom; the conqueror of the war-chief Sen-thwa, who came in his pride to battle, leading the many hundred thousand troops of the Uti King, (Emperor of China.) His Majesty Na-ra-pa-ti-pa-wa-ra-maha-d'hamma-raja-ti-raja-ti-pa-ti, King of Righteousness, and His Royal Consort, the Queen, sincerely attached, by faith and joy, to the Three Gems, and desirous of enjoying the happiness of men, the happiness of Nats, and the repose of Nib-b'han; having rendered religion illustrious by building the Maha-t'hu-pa-rong, one hundred and thirty cubits high, on the ground of victory, in the golden country called Sa-gaing; the Princess of Thit-sin, foster-mother and nurse of Her Highness the South Queen, the summit of glory, knowing the laws of mortality, sincerely attached to the Three Gems, and desirous of enjoying the happiness of men, the happiness of Nats, and the repose of Nib-b'han; in the Ma-g'ha year 816, on Friday, the 8th of the increase of Tan-saong-mag, makes an offering of the Kula Kyaong, (foreign monastery,) viz. the Golden Kyaong, adorned with four peculiar roofs, on the spot of ground north-west of the T'hu-pa-rong, built by His Majesty. And her son, San-thit, makes an offering of the Mra



Pagoda, in Thit-sin, twenty cubits in diameter, and forty cubits high; and the Pi-ta-kat Kula Kyaong, viz. the Golden Kyaong Rap-thi, adorned with four peculiar roofs.

And with a view to establish the sacred period of five thousand years, having given four thousand six hundred ticals of pure silver, certain golden ornaments, and one hundred ticals of gold, and obtained possession of the north and south villages of Na-ta-raok, with three thousand three hundred and thirty-three and three quarters pés of land; the village of Taik-kri, with seventy pés of land; the village of Na-pa-ren, with five pés, planted with betel-palms; a field of ten pés, watered by the sweet Mango brook; five hundred and fifty-five palm-trees in Pa-laing, beside many young palms, and one other field of palms, containing five pés: these grounds and palms were measured and counted, His Majesty summoning the land-measurer Thu-parit, Agent of Wa-ta-na of the North side, and the Chief of Men-rwa; stone pillars were erected on the ground, and a legal transfer made. These grounds and palms are divided and given as follows:—To the Royal Kyaong in Lakaing, we give the large village of Na-ta-raok, with two thousand five hundred and seventy-three pés of ground, the five hundred and fifty-five palm-trees in Pa-laing, beside the many young palms, and the other field of palms, containing five pés. (Here follows a statement of the boundaries, as marked by certain trees, brooks, &c.) To the Mra Pagoda, and the Kyaong in Thit-sin, we give the garden village of Na-ta-raok, with seven hundred and sixty-one pés of ground; the village of Taik-kri, with seventy pés; the village of Na-pa-ren, with five pés, planted with betel-palms; and the field of ten pés, watered by the sweet Mango brook. (Here follows a statement of boundaries.)

Also, in order to contribute to the perpetuity of the A-sin-ta-wan Kyaong, and the Si-kong Pagoda in Sa-ku, we make an offering of the village of Tan-rong, with one hundred and thirty palm-trees, obtained in exchange for the war-elephant Na-ra-set, and a silver salver, weighing three hundred ticals.

Through the influence of these meritorious deeds, I desire to be freed from all the miseries of transmigratory existence, and having enjoyed sovereignty among men and among Nats, to arrive at the repose of Nib-b'han. May His Majesty and the South Queen ; the royal sons, daughters, and grandchildren ; my husband, sons, daughters, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, relatives, and servants ; and all creatures, from the lowest hell to the summit of the universe, share equally with myself. May those who destroy or injure my good works, incur the eight evils, and the ten punishments. When they die, may they suffer millions of millions of worlds in the eight great hells, and the hundred and twenty-eight smaller hells ; and when they are released from hell, may they become ants, worms, leaches, and prit-tas, and in those states famish for want of food.



## NO. VIII.

TRANSLATION OF A BURMESE CHRONOLOGICAL  
TABLE.

N. B. B. C. Before Christ. A. D. the year of our Lord. G. E. the Grand Epoch. S. E. Sacred Epoch, or Era of Gautama. P. E. Prome Epoch, more correctly, the Era of Salivana. V. E. the Vulgar or Common Burman Era.

B. C.	G. E.	
691	1	The grand epoch established by An-ja-na, the grandfather of Gautama.
628	68	Gautama born.
608	84	Gautama began to reign.
589	103	Gautama obtained deification (became a Buddha).
551	141	Ajatasat began to reign.
544	148	Gautama died and obtained Nib-b'han (annihilation.)
		S. E.
543	149	1 The Sacred Epoch established by King Ajatasat.
520	172	24 His son U-da-ya-bad-da, began to reign.
496	196	48 His son Muny-da, and after him his son Na-ga-da-sa.
485	207	59 Maha Sam-b'ha-wa.
478	214	66 His younger brother Chula Sam-b'ha-wa, began to reign.
472	220	72 Su-sa-na-ga in Maj-ji-ma (central India).

B. C.	G. E.	S. E.	
453	239	91	His son Ka-la-san-ka, in Maj-ji-ma.
443	249	101	Twat-ta-paong, the founder of Sa-re-k'het-ta-ra, (or Ras-se Myo, vulgarly called Prome.)
426	266	118	His son Bat-ta-se-na in Maj-ji-ma.
404	288	140	Nan-da began to reign, and was followed by eight Kings of the same name in Maj-ji-ma.
392	310	162	Chan-ta-kut-ta in Maj-ji-ma.
376	316	168	His son Bin-tu-sa-ra in Maj-ji-ma.
373	319	171	His son Twat-ta-ram in Prome.
351	341	193	His son Ram-b'haong in Prome.
330	362	214	His son D'ham-ma-sau-ka in Maj-ji-ma.
326	366	218	D'ham-ma-sau-ka received the sacred affusion (Ab'hi-se-sa).
320	372	224	Prince Ma-hin-d'ha became a priest (Rahan), and his sister, Princess San-g'ha-mit-ta, a priestess (Rahan).
307	385	237	The period of the third rehearsal of the communications of Gautama. The priest Ma-hin-d'ha went on a religious mission to Si-ho (Ceylon).
301	391	243	Ra-han-man, son of D'ham-ma-sau-ka, began to reign in Prome.
289	403	255	Death of D'ham-ma-sau-ka (literally "his going to Heaven.")
251	441	293	His son or grandson, Rak-k'han, began to reign in Prome.
219	473	325	His son K'han-laong in Prome.
182	510	362	His son Lak-k'hong in Prome.
148	544	396	His son Si-k'han in Prome.
118	574	426	His son Si-ri-rak in Prome.



B. C.      G. E.      S. E.

111	581	436	Ta-pa-mang in Prome.
94	598	450	The communications of Gautama reduced to writing in Ceylon.
60	632	484	Ta-pa-man's son, Pi-ram, in Prome.
39	653	505	Ram-mak-k'ha in Prome, and his son.

A. D.

21	713	565	Ram-sin-ga in Prome, and his son.
24	716	568	His son Ram-mun-cha-lin-da in Prome.
39	731	583	His brother Be-rin-da in Prome.
54	746	598	His son Mun-ja in Prome.
56	748	600	His son Pu-nyan-nya in Prome.
59	751	603	His brother Sa-k'ha in Prome.
62	754	606	Sa-k'hi in Prome.
65	757	609	His younger brother, Kan-nu, in Prome.
66	758	610	His elder brother, Kan-tak, in Prome.
69	761	613	His elder brother, Bin-ja, in Prome.
73	765	617	His son Su-mun-dri, in Prome.

P. E.

79	771	623	1	The Prome Epoch, established by King Su-mun-dri.
80	772	624	2	His son Ati-tra in Prome.
83	775	627	5	His brother Su-panya-na-ga-ra-chin-na, in Prome.
94	786	638	16	Death of King Su-panya-na-ga-ra-chin-na.
107	799	651	29	Sa-mud-da-raj began to reign in Pagan.
152	844	696	74	Ras-se-kyaong in Pagan.
167	859	711	89	Phru-chau-ti in Pagan.
242	934	786	164	His son T'himany-rany in Pagan.

A. D.	G. E.	S. E.	P. E.	
299	991	843	221	His son Rang-mang-pok in Pagan.
324	1016	868	246	His son Pok-san-lany in Pagan.
386	1078	930	308	Bud-d'ha-gau-sa went to Ceylon.
387	1079	931	309	Pok-sang-lany's son, Kyaong-du-rach, began to reign.
412	1104	956	334	His son Sany-t'han.
469	1161	1013	391	Muk-k'ha-man, and Su-rai.
494	1186	1038	416	Sany-t'han's great grandson-Ra-mwan-mya.
516	1208	1060	438	Sok-ton.
523	1215	1067	445	His son Sang-lang-kyaung-ngai.
532	1224	1076	454	His brother Sang-lany-pok.
547	1239	1091	469	His brother K'han-laong.
557	1249	1101	579	His brother K'han-lap.
569	1261	1113	491	His son T'hwan-t'hok.
582	1274	1126	504	His son T'hwan-prach.
598	1290	1142	520	His son T'hwan-k'hyach.
613	1305	1157	535	Pup-pa-chau-ra-han.
			V. E.	
639	1331	1183	561	1 The present Vulgar Epoch, established by Pup-pa-chau-ra-han.
640	1332	1184	562	2 His son-in-law Shwe-bun-si succeeded.
652	1344	1196	574	14 His brother Pis-sun.
660	1352	1204	582	22 His son Pit-taung.
710	1402	1254	632	72 His brother Na-k'hwe.



A. D.	G. E.	S. E.	P. E.	V. E.	
716	1408	1260	638	78	Myang-ka-kywe.
726	1418	1270	648	88	Sing-ga.
734	1426	1278	656	96	Sing-k'hwan.
744	1436	1288	666	106	His son Shwe-laung.
753	1445	1297	675	115	His son T'he-wan- twang.
762	1454	1306	684	124	His son Shwe-mauk.
766	1458	1310	688	128	His son Chau-k'hang- nach.
785	1477	1329	707	147	His brother T'hwan- lwat.
829	1521	1373	751	191	His son K'hai-lu.
846	1528	1390	768	208	His brother Pyany-bya
864	1556	1408	788	226	His son Tan-nak.
889	1581	1433	813	251	Sin-chwan and his bro- ther Cha-le-nga-kwe.
914	1606	1458	838	276	His son Sing-g'ho.
930	1622	1474	852	292	Taung-su-kri, (The Mountain chief.)
945	1637	1489	867	307	Kwan - chau - kraung - pru.
966	1658	1510	888	328	His son Kraung-cho.
972	1664	1516	894	334	His brother Chuck-ka- té.
997	1689	1541	919	359	Kraung-p'hrus'son Nau-ra-t'ha-chau.
1030	1722	1574	952	392	His son Chau-lu.
1056	1748	1600	978	418	Kyan-chach-sa.
1081	1773	1625	1003	443	His grandson Alaun- chany-su.
1151	1843	1695	1073	513	His son Ku-la-kya.
1154	1846	1698	1076	516	His son Mang-rai-na ra-sung-ga.

A. D.	G. E.	S. E.	P. E.	V. E.	
1157	1849	1701	1079	519	His brother Na-ra-pa-ti-chany-su.
1190	1882	1734	1112	552	His son Je-ya-sing-ga, or Nan-taung-mya-mang.
1212	1904	1756	1134	574	His son Kya-chwa.
1227	1919	1771	1149	589	His son Uch-cha-na.
1233	1925	1777	1155	595	His brother Mang-k'hwe-k'hye.
1277	1969	1821	1199	639	His son Kyany-chwa.
1291	1983	1835	1213	653	His son Chau-nach.
1300	1992	1844	1222	662	Ta-chi-shang-si-ha-su in Panya.
1313	2005	1857	1235	675	His son Chau-mwan-nach in Panya.
1322	2014	1866	1244	684	His son Uch-cha-na. This year Asang-k'ha-ra-chau-rwan founded Chit-kaing, and began to reign.
1330	2032	1874	1252	692	His elder brother Tara-bya-kri in Chit-kaing (Sagaing).
1342	2034	1886	1264	704	His younger brother Na-chi-shang-kyany-chwa in Chit-kaing.
1351	2043	1895	1273	713	His son Kyany-chwa in Chit-kaing.
1356	2048	1900	1278	718	Chau-mwan-nach died, and Pugan was destroyed.
1362	2053	1905	1283	723	Kyany-chwa's brother Mau-pa-na-ra-su in Chit-kaing.



A. D.	G. E.	S. E.	P. E.	V. E.	
1364	2056	1908	1286	726	His elder brother Uch-cha-na-praung in Chit-kaing. This year Sa-to-mang-bya founded Angwa (A-va), and began to reign, Chit-kaing and Panya were destroyed.
1377	2069	1921	1299	739	His father-in-law Many-kri-chwa in Ava.
1401	2093	1945	1323	763	His son Ta-ra-bya-kri in Ava, succeeded the same year by Mang-kaung 1st.
1422	2114	1966	1344	784	His son Chany-pru-shang-si-ha-su in Ava.
1425	2117	1969	1347	787	His son Many-l'hagnay in Ava, succeeded the same year by Ka-le-kye-ngo.
1426	2118	1970	1348	788	Mo-n'hany-mang-ta-ra in Ava.
1439	2131	1983	1361	801	His son Mang-rai-kyany-chwa in Ava.
1442	2134	1986	1364	804	His brother Na-ra-patti-kri in Ava.
1468	2160	2812	1390	830	His son Maha-si-ha-sura in Ava.
1480	2172	2024	1402	842	His son Mang-k'haung 2nd in Ava.

A. D.	G. E.	S. E.	P. E.	V. E.	
1501	2193	2045	1423	863	His son Shwe-nan-kyany-shang in Ava, (proper name Na-ra-pa-ti.)
1526	2218	2070	1448	888	Mo-n'hany-so-hau-pwa in Ava.
1541	2233	2085	1463	903	Un-b'haung-chan-b'hwa in Ava.
1546	2238	2090	1468	908	His son Mo-bya-na-ra-pa-ti in Ava.
1551	2243	2095	1473	913	Cha-kong,-chany-su-kyao-y-taug, or Na-ra-pa-ti-gan, in Ava.
1554	2246	2098	1476	916	Sa-to-mang-chau in Ava.
1565	2257	2109	1487	927	Prany-chun-mang-rai-kyany-chwa in Ava.
1597	2289	2141	1519	959	Nyaung-ram-man-kri in Ava.
1605	2299	2149	1527	967	His son Anauk-pak-lwan-mang-tar-a-kri in Ava.
1629	2321	2173	1551	990	Sa-lwan in Ava.
1648	2340	2192	1570	1010	His son Na-dat-da-ya-ka in Ava.
1661	2353	2205	1583	1023	His brother Pruny-mang in Ava.
1672	2364	2216	1594	1034	His son Na-ra-wara in Ava, succeeded the same year Mang rai-kyany-tang, grandson of Sa-lwan.
1698	2390	2242	1620	1060	His son Man-aung-ra-da-nga-da-ya-ka in Ava.



A. D.	G. E.	S. E.	P. E.	V. E.	
1714	2406	2258	1636	1076	His son Chang-p'hru-shang in Ava.
1733	2425	2277	1655	1095	His son K'haung-thit, carried captive to Han-sa-wati.
1752	2444	2296	1674	1114	Alaung-b'hu-ra (Alompra), began to reign at Mut-chobo, (Monchabo).
1760	2452	2304	1682	1122	His son U-pa-ra-ja at Chit-kaing.
1763	2455	2307	1685	1125	His brother Chany-p'hru-shang (Sembuen), at Ava.
1776	2468	2320	1698	1138	His son Chany-ku-cha at Ava.
1781	2473	2325	1703	1143	His cousin Paung-ka-cha, commonly called Maung-maug, son of U-pa-ra-ja, at Ava, succeeded the same year by his uncle Padun-mang or Mantara-kri, son of Alaung-b'hu-ra, and founder of Ama-ra-pu-ra.
1819	2511	2363	1741	1181	His present Majesty, grandson of Padun-mang, ascended the throne at Ama-ra-pu-ra.
1822	2514	2366	1744	1184	Ava rebuilt, and made the capital.

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## No. IX.

## VOCABULARIES.

ENGLISH.	BURMESE.	ARACAN.	NARYEN.	KYEN.
Sky . . .	. Moh	. Kaung-kan	Muko	. A-né.
Star . . .	. Ke-'nek-kat	Kre	. Sa	. A-she.
Sun . . .	. Na	. Ni	. Mu	. K'hu-n'hi.
Moon . . .	. La	. La	. La	. Klau.
Island . . .	. Kywon	. Kywan	. Sué	. Kyun.
Mountain . . .	. Taung	. Taung	. Kacha	. Song.
Stone . . .	. Kyauk	. Kyauk	. Le	. Long.
Water . . .	. Re	. Ri	. Ti	. Tu-i.
River . . .	. Myit	. Mrik	{Ti-mo- pra-loh}	Lik.
Sea . . .	. Peng-le	. Pan-le	. Po-le-loh	Pan-lai.
Fire . . .	. Mih	. Mi	. Me-u	. Mi-a.
Man . . .	. Lu	. Youk-kya	. Pa-po-kwa	. Pa-dau.
Woman . . .	. Main-ma	. Ming-ma	. Pa-pa-mu	. No-tau.
Father . . .	. Apha	. A-ba	. Pa	. Pau.
Mother . . .		. A-yaung	. Mo	. Nu.
Head . . .	. K'haung	. Gaung	. Pako	. Lu.
Eye . . .	. Myit-si	. Myit-si	. Pametha	. Myik.
Mouth . . .	. N'hok	. Kandwen	. Pakobu	. Ka-ko.
Tiger . . .	. Kya	. Kya	. Batho	. Ky-i.
Hog . . .	. Wet	. Wet	. Toh	. Wok.
Buffalo . . .	. Kuwi	. Kywe	. Pana	. Nau.
Dog . . .	. K'hwa	. Kwi	. Tui	. U-i.
Elephant . . .	. Sen	. San	. Kaso	. Mu-i.
Goat . . .	. Sit	. Sik	. Metele	. Ma.
Fowl . . .	. Kyet	. Kret	. Soh	. À.
Fish . . .	. Nga	. Na	. Nya	. Nau.
Gold . . .	. Shwe	. Shwi	. Tu	. Ha.
Silver . . .	. Ngwe	. Mwi	. Se	. Hen.



ENGLISH.	BURMESE.	ARACAN.	KARYEN.	KYEN.
Copper .	. Kye-ni .	Kri-ni	. Tora .	Kyi.
Tin .	. Kye-'phyu	{ Ka-ma- p'hyu }	{ Ta-wah (white iron) }	Ka-bau.
Iron .	. Than .	. Than	. Ta .	. T'hi.
Cotton .	. Gwon .	. Wa	. Be .	. Pwa.
Silk .	. Po .	. Po .	. Thato .	. Po.
Pepper(black)	{ Na-yok- kaung }	{ Narok- kaung }	Moritha	Lut.
Sugar Cane .	. Kyan	. Kran	. Tipoh .	. Su.
Rice .	. San .	. Sain .	. Hutha .	. Saung.
Ratan .	. Kyin-lon .	. Krin-long	. Re .	. Mo.
Banana .	{ Ng'het- pyau-thi }	Napyan-thi	Thakui	. N'han-pau.
Salt .	. S'ha .	. Sa .	. Itha .	. Isi.
Weave, to .	. Yet .	. Ret .	. Patata .	. T'hau-tau.
Boat .	. L'he .	. Laung	. Kli .	. Klu-i.
Buy .	. We .	. We .	. Prapre .	. K'ha-'hle.
War .	. Sit .	. Sik .	. The .	. Ya.
City .	. Myo .	. Mro .	. We .	. Lu.
Few .	. Ni .	. A-ne .	. Siko .	. A-yat.
Many .	. Mya .	. A-mya .	. Taprukla .	. Anong.
Great .	. Kyi .	. Kri .	. Pado .	. A-len.
Little .	. Nge .	. Ne .	. Asih .	. A-dik.
Sweet .	. K'hyo .	. K'hyo .	. Asoh .	. A-twi.
Bitter .	. K'ha .	. K'ha .	. Tahka .	. K'hau.
Good .	. Kaung .	. Kaung .	. Are .	. A-tau.
Bad .	. So .	. So .	. Tareba .	. A-si.
Be .	. P'hyit .	. Hi .	. Olih .	. A-mi-e.
Do .	. Lok .	. Lok .	. Pamada .	. Po.
Give .	. Pa .	. Pi .	. Prehi .	. Pet.
One .	. Tit .	. Taik .	. Taplé .	. Pa-hat.
Two .	. N'hit .	. N'haik .	. Kiplé .	. Pa-n'hi.
Three .	. Thon .	. Thong .	. Theplé .	. Pa-t'hong.
Four .	. Le .	. Le .	. Luiplé .	. L'hi.

ENGLISH.	BURMESE.	ARACAN.	KARYEN.	KYEN.
Five .	Nga .	Na .	Yeplé .	N'hau.
Six .	K'hyauk .	Khrauk .	Kuplé .	S'houk.
Seven .	K'hwo-n'hit .	K'hu-n'haik .	Nuiplé .	Shi.
Eight .	S'hit .	S'bit .	Khoplé .	S'hat.
Nine .	Ko .	Ko .	Kuiplé .	Ko.
Ten .	Ta-se .	Ta-se .	Ta-se .	Ha.
Eleven .	Ta-se-tit .	Ta-se-taik .	Si-taple .	Kau-la-hat.
Twelve .	Ta-se-n'hit .	Ta-se-n'haik .	Si-kiplé .	Kau-la-n'hi.
Twenty .	N'hit-se .	N'haik-se .	Kisi .	Ku-i.
One Hundred .	Ta-ya .	Ta-ra .	Tareya .	Pyahat.
One Thousand .	Ta-thaung .	Ta-thaung .	Tagato .	Toung-hat.
10 Thousand .	Ta-thaung .	Ta-thaung .	Tagala .	Shoung-hat.
100 Thousand .	Ta-thing* .	Tathing .	Tagathi .	S'hin-hat.

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No. X.

DEPOSITIONS OF EUROPEAN AND OTHER CAPTIVES  
IMPRISONED BY THE BURMESE GOVERNMENT  
DURING THE LATE WAR.

THE following depositions, taken before me at Rangoon, in the month of May 1826, shortly after the cessation of hostilities, illustrate in so interesting and striking a manner the character of the Burmese and their Government, as well as the history and incidents of the war, that I deem them worth insertion. Several of the parties examined, it will soon be discovered, were individuals of much acuteness and intelligence; and all of them were, not only, well acquainted with the country and people, but had been placed under circumstances, in many respects, extremely favourable.

\* The Burmese have numerals extending to ten millions.



## JOHN LAIRD.

*Question.* What is your name, and of what country are you a native?—*Answer.* My name is John Laird; I was born in the town of Forfar, county of Angus, North Britain.

*Q.* When did you first come into the Burman dominions?—*A.* I came first to Rangoon in command of the ship Mahomed Shah in March 1820. After a stay of about one month, I returned to Bengal; I came back again to Rangoon in August or September of the same year, and have continued in the Burman country ever since, with the exception of a short absence of two months, when I visited Calcutta.

*Q.* How have you been employed during your residence in this country?—*A.* As a merchant and agent.

*Q.* Have you resided any time at the Burman capital?—*A.* I went to the Burman capital, then Amarapura, for the first time, in December 1820, and resided there on that occasion about three months, when I returned to Rangoon, having disposed of the goods which I took up. I visited the capital again, then Ava, in the beginning of 1823, and stayed there about three months. I left Rangoon the last time for Ava in 1824, and did not return until released from prison by the British army.

*Q.* What took you to Ava upon this last occasion?—*A.* I was ordered up in chains, by the King and Prince of Sarawadi.

*Q.* Did you go up in chains?—*A.* No; I paid a bribe of sixty ticals to the commander of the war-boat sent from Ava to convey me, and was excused.

*Q.* With what offence were you charged?—*A.* With none whatever that I am aware of. I was simply told

that the King had called me. Fifty men came to my house to put me in irons: I said, "Don't put me in irons, I will make you a present." They demanded six hundred ticals, and were finally satisfied with sixty.

Q. Do you understand the Burman language?—A. I understand generally what is said, and can speak a few words.

Q. How did you generally communicate with the native inhabitants?—A. Through interpreters whom I always kept in my employment.

Q. Do you speak any other of the Indian languages?—A. Yes; Hindustanee and Malay.

Q. Were you agent for the Prince of Sarawadi?—

A. Yes, and also for the late Prince of Tongo, brother to the King.

Q. Did you enjoy any privileges under the Prince?—

A. Yes, I had a monopoly of the teak timber, and other produce of the province of Sarawadi, which is the domain or estate of his Highness. The people could sell their produce to me only, as long as I gave the market price of Sarawadi for it.

Q. Had you a title from his Majesty the King?—

A. Yes; I got one through the Prince of Sarawadi to strengthen my hands as his agent.

Q. Did this title confer any power on you?—A. Yes; a great deal: I could enforce payment of my own debts, and was not subject to the jurisdiction of the Myowun of Rangoon. I was under the authority of the Shah-bandar only, a Spanish gentleman of the name of Lanciego.

Q. Are you well acquainted with the Prince of Sarawadi?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you consider you were in his confidence?—

A. As a commercial agent I was, and upon other subjects he often spoke to me familiarly.



Q. Did you ever hear his Highness express his opinion concerning a war with the British?—A. Yes; when I arrived at Ava, on the 4th of March, 1824, I waited upon the Prince of Sarawadi. Upon that occasion, his Highness asked me if I knew a Mr. Richardson, who had lately quitted Ava. I informed him that I knew this individual only as a clerk of Mr. Gouger, a British merchant then at the capital, and afterwards imprisoned. The reason of his Highness putting this question was, that the Court, on the information of certain Mohammedan merchants, had been led to suspect Mr. Richardson to be a spy dispatched to Bengal by Mr. Gouger with information for the British Government. His Highness then observed, “There are two Chiefs of Assam and Cassay, who have run off into the British territory; do you think the English Government will deliver them up?” I said, it was contrary to the custom of the English to deliver up any person who had sought their protection. The Prince, on hearing this, said, “If they will not deliver them up, we will go to war and take them by force. Do you think we can beat the English?” I said, “No;” to which the Prince replied, “See how we beat them at Coxes Bazar. You are strong by sea, but not by land. We are skilled in making trenches and *abbatis*, which the English do not understand.” I answered, “I beseech you not to deceive yourself with this opinion, but advise his Majesty not to go to war.” I added, that the English and Burmans were two great nations who had been long friends, and ought not to quarrel on account of two petty individuals, like the Princes alluded to. The Prince said, “If the Chiefs are not surrendered, there will be war;” and he continued to insist that they would be taken by force.

Q. Are you of opinion that the Burman Court and people, generally, were anxious for a war with the English?

—A. Yes, I am of opinion that, from the King to the beggar, they were hot for a war with the English. They looked upon the English as a parcel of merchants, and considered the Governor-General to be of no higher rank or consequence than the Viceroy of Rangoon.

Q. What has induced you to form this opinion?—

A. What I heard repeated at the Prince's levees daily as coming from the palace, and the opinions expressed by himself and his courtiers upon many occasions, almost daily. I judged also from the opinions expressed by Burman merchants who were in the habit of transacting business with me.

Q. What advantage do you consider the Burmans expected to derive from a war with the English?—A. They expected to conquer Bengal, to plunder it, and extend their territories to the westward.

Q. Did you ever hear that the Burmans, before the war, were alarmed at the power of the British Government in India?—A. No, I never heard so. I have always considered that the Burmans had a contempt for the British, whom they considered as merchants who had hired a few mercenary soldiers to fight for them.

Q. Were they aware of the wealth of Calcutta and Bengal?—A. Yes, certainly: they judged of it from the reports of their own merchants who visited Calcutta, as well as by the large investments brought to Rangoon by British merchants.

Q. Do you consider that this circumstance was any inducement to a desire for war with the English?—A. Certainly.

Q. Were you ever in the presence of his Majesty the King of Ava?—A. Yes, often.

Q. On such occasions, did you ever hear an opinion expressed which led you to believe that the Court was



desirous of a war with the English?—A. Yes; I remember one circumstance which struck me very forcibly, and led me to form that opinion. When I was in Ava, for the second time, in 1823, I was present at an evening levee of the King. The late Bandula, and several of his officers, who had just arrived from the conquest of Assam, were there. They had on their heads gold-wrought handkerchiefs, part of the plunder of Assam. The King took them off their heads and admired them. One of the Atwenwuns said to the King, “Your Majesty’s dominions now extend to the Northern Sea. There never was so great a King as your Majesty.” The King smiled, and asked, if in his new acquisitions there was any port of trade for large ships. It was answered, that there was not; but that there was a considerable inland trade with Bengal by boats. The King then ordered that a proper person should be appointed Shah-bandar for the collection of his revenues in Assam. Bandula now presented the King with two English dogs which had been taken, and proceeded to mention what number of prisoners he had brought, as well as the hostages and presents from the native Prince whom he had left in authority. Bandula said, “I pursued the fugitives across the Burrampooter into the British territory; but, as the English are on terms of friendship with your Majesty, and you derive a large revenue from their trade to Rangoon, I retired. But if your Majesty desire to have Bengal, I will conquer it for you, and will only require for this purpose the Kulas, or strangers, and not a single Burman.” His Majesty smiled, but gave no reply. He was greatly pleased with what he heard during the evening, and was fidgeting about in his seat every now and then, according to his custom when he is delighted with any thing.

Q. What Kulas, or strangers, do you suppose Ban-

dula meant upon this occasion?—*A.* Mohammedan and Hindu settlers from Western Asia, residing at the capital, and, I imagine also, Chinese.

*Q.* Are these strangers numerous at the Burman capital?—*A.* Yes, particularly the Chinese and Cassayers, who, I suppose, form a fourth part of the whole population of the capital?

*Q.* Who was your interpreter on this occasion?—*A.* Mr. Rodgers, an Englishman, who has resided forty-one years in the country, and understands the language thoroughly.

*Q.* What observation did Mr. Rodgers make upon what transpired upon this occasion?—*A.* He said to me, “If the King takes the advice of these men, there will be war with the English, and the country is gone.” I said, “Why don’t you advise his Majesty against it. He said, “If at this moment I were to speak a word on the subject, my head would be cut off.”

*Q.* Did you ever hear that Bandula had marched at the head of an army towards the British frontier before the commencement of the war?—*A.* In going up to Ava by water, in the month of February 1824, I met troops proceeding to join the army of Bandula, then at Sambeguen.

*Q.* Were you told that they were going to attack the British dominions?—*A.* No. I sent my interpreter on shore to make inquiry, who stated on his return, that the report was, that the army was intended to quell a rebellion in Aracan.

*Q.* What was said at Ava when news arrived of the capture of Rangoon by the British army?—*A.* I heard at the levee of the Prince of Sarawadi, that the King had issued orders for raising an army to drive the strangers out of the country. It was said that he expressed a hope that the Kulas would not run away before the



arrival of his army, as their fire-arms would be of great service towards the conquest of Siam. It was the general belief that the English had come to burn and plunder the country, and carry off the inhabitants, in the manner practised by the Burmans and Siamese towards each other on the frontier.

Q. How soon were you put in confinement after the arrival of the English at Rangoon?—A. The English were imprisoned on the 28th of May, and the Americans on the 8th of June.

Q. When you were in prison, had you any opportunity of getting news of what was passing?—A. Yes, sometimes even to the capture of a Sepoy's jacket.

Q. What opinion did the Burmans generally entertain of the British soldiery before the commencement of hostilities?—A. They imagined them to be a rabble, and they thought that ten thousand Burmans would beat four times the number of British troops.

Q. When did they begin to change their opinion on this subject?—A. After the capture of the Seven Stockades, where Thongba-woonghee, who commanded, and a Woondock, were killed.

Q. Did this event produce a strong impression in Ava?—A. Yes; the Court was much alarmed, but continued to assert that the English were afraid to advance from Rangoon.

Q. Whether were the Burmans most afraid of the European or Native troops of the British army?—A. They were afraid of the European troops, and not of the Native.

Q. What means had you of ascertaining this?—A. I ascertained it from deserters of the Burman army, who were imprisoned with me.

Q. What did they say of the conduct of the Sepoys?

—A. They said, they waved their hands as a signal for them to be off, and fired over their heads.

Q. Did you hear this once, or oftener?—A. It was constantly repeated to myself and the other prisoners.

Q. Are you aware what object the Burmans had in repeating this story?—A. No; I cannot say.

Q. Did you believe it at the time?—A. No; I did not believe it.

Q. Are the Burmans, in your opinion, now convinced that they have been worsted by the English?—A. Yes, certainly.

Q. To what do they ascribe their defeats?—A. They now acknowledge the superior courage and discipline of the British troops.

Q. Do you think the present peace will be lasting?—A. No; I do not. There is no confidence, no faith, to be placed in the Burmans, from the highest to the lowest rank. If they suppose themselves to have an opportunity of regaining the provinces conquered from them, they will not fail to avail themselves of it.

Q. Do you consider that the appointment of a British resident at the Court of Ava is likely to have a beneficial effect in preserving peace with the Burmans?—A. Yes; a person in that situation will have every opportunity of watching the designs of the Court.

Q. Is it easy to gain information of the transactions of the Court of Ava?—A. Yes, very easy. By means of small presents, almost any intelligence might be obtained. A piece of book-muslin, or leno, or a handkerchief-piece of a new pattern, will often do the business.

Q. Do you not think that the British agent will be jealously watched by the Court?—A. Yes; at first, but in time this will be got over. If his Majesty takes a personal



liking to the resident, all difficulty is got over; and then woe be to the man who says any thing against him.

Q. Do you think the resident will experience any difficulty in communicating with the British Government, through Aracan, or by Rangoon?—A. Yes, much difficulty. Letters will be often intercepted, and the communication frequently interrupted.

Q. What line of demeanour, on the part of the British resident, do you consider would prove most beneficial to the interests of his Government?—A. The first matter necessary, is to get into the King and Queen's favour; then into that of Menzagi, the Queen's brother. The resident should confine his visits to the members of the Royal family; but, by means of small presents, keep on good terms with the Woonghees, Attawuns, and Woondocks.

Q. Do you consider that the British trade in the Burman dominions is likely to receive any protection or benefit from the presence of a British agent at the Court of Ava?—A. Yes, undoubtedly. I would return to Ava myself as a merchant, were a British resident appointed there.

Q. Have you had extensive means of gaining information respecting the trade of the Burman dominions?—A. Yes, very considerable means.

Q. What do you consider to be the productions of the country, either at present suited for foreign exportation, or likely to become so, when the country is settled, and trade on a fair footing?—A. The following enumeration occurs to me: rice, grain, cotton, indigo, cardamums, black-pepper, aloes, sugar, saltpetre, salt, teak-timber, stick-lac, kutch, or terra japonica, areca, damar, fustic, sapan-wood, wood and earth oil, honey, bees' wax, ivory, with rubies and sapphires. I may add, that the following metals and minerals are found in the Burman dominions: iron, copper,

lead, gold, silver, antimony, white statuary marble, limestone, and coals.

Q. What do you know respecting the teak trade?—

A. I had a monopoly of the teak forests of Sarawadi, the principal place of produce, for one year.

Q. What do you suppose may be the annual produce of Sarawadi?—A. I got about 7500 pair of shinbins; but, notwithstanding the monopoly, others got large quantities also.

Q. Do you know any thing of the produce of the teak forests of Lain, Prome, and Tongo?—A. No; I cannot afford any precise information respecting them.

Q. Have you ever visited the teak forests of Sarawadi, and what do you think of them?—A. I have. The timber is very fine, and in great quantity. It is all natural wood, the Burmans never planting.

Q. Are they capable of affording a larger annual produce than they yield at present?—A. Yes; any quantity the market may demand.

Q. Do the forests of Sarawadi produce kutch?—A. Yes, in great quantity. This produce is obtained by boiling the wood of a forest tree\*, which is in plenty. It is inferior in quality to the kutch of the upper provinces, being darker in colour.

Q. Have you ever seen any cane-sugar in Ava?—

A. Yes; I have seen some very fine clayed sugar, manufactured by the Chinese of Ava: I thought the best description of it superior to the Siam sugar.

Q. What was the price of this sugar in the market of Ava?—A. From thirty to thirty-six Sicca rupees the 100 viss, or 365 pounds avoirdupois.

Q. Are you of opinion that the culture of the sugar-cane, and manufacture of sugar, might be extended?—

\* *Mimosa Cathechu*.



A. I was told by the Chinese, that nothing was wanting but a market to enable them to produce sugar in large quantity. The Burmans prohibited the exportation.

Q. Are you of opinion that any part of the Burman territory is suited to the produce of indigo?—A. Yes; the lower parts of the country, especially the districts of Sarawadi and Sarwa. The soil of these is rich. I have seen indigo growing wild, and the natives cultivate a considerable quantity for home use. When the war broke out, I was on the point of establishing an indigo manufactory, at a place called Tendo, in Sarawadi.

Q. Have you ever heard of any other person having established, or proposed to establish, an indigo manufactory in Pegu?—A. Yes; Sarkies Manook, an Armenian merchant of Rangoon, established an indigo manufactory in the district of Sarwa, immediately before the war, but I do not know the result.

Q. What are the principal articles of import by sea into the Burman dominions?—A. Bengal, Madras, and British piece-goods; British woollens, iron, wrought and unwrought, copper for ship-building, lead, quicksilver, borax, sulphur, gunpowder, fire-arms, saltpetre, sugar, arrack, and rum; a little opium, earthenware, Chinese and English glass-ware, cocoa-nuts, and betel-nut.

Q. Has the trade in piece-goods increased of late years?—A. Very much, especially in British piece-goods, which were not known at all to the Burmans a few years ago. The trade in Madras piece-goods has declined.

Q. Do you know any thing of the trade carried on between the northern parts of the Burman dominions and China?—A. Yes; I have made inquiry into it.

Q. Will you mention what you know respecting it?—A. The trade is carried on at Banmo, on the Chinese frontiers, and a fair held at a place called Midai, four or

five miles to the northward of Amarapura. Mohammedan and Burman merchants of Ava go to Banmo to meet the Chinese, part of whom come down to Midai in December. I have visited the fair at Midai, and think there could not be less than four thousand Chinese there.

Q. What goods did the Chinese import?—A. Copper, orpiment, quicksilver, vermilion, iron-pans, silver, gold, rhubarb, tea, fine honey, raw silk, spirits, hams, musk, verdigris, dry fruits, and a few fresh fruits, with some dogs and pheasants.

Q. What description of tea is it that the Chinese bring?—A. It is black tea, of different qualities, made up in round cakes or balls: some of it is of very fine flavour, and some very indifferent.

Q. Do you know of what part of China this tea is the produce?—A. No; I do not, but suppose it to be the production of the provinces adjacent to the Burman Empire. I have made three voyages to Canton, but never saw tea of the same description there.

Q. What are the ordinary prices of this tea in Ava?—A. When the caravan arrives, the price of tea is low, but rises when it goes away. I never paid, by retail, more than one tical a vis, (three pounds sixty-five cents,) for what I purchased for my own use.

Q. Do you consider this tea fit for the European market?—A. Yes; I think the best quality is. There are much worse teas drank in Europe.

Q. For whose use is this tea imported?—A. Chiefly for that of the Chinese residents. The Mohammedan residents also use a considerable quantity, as well as the higher classes of Burmans—all, in short, that can afford it.

Q. Are you aware that the tea-plant is the production of some parts of the Burman Empire?—A. Yes; but I do not know of what part. Tea, under the name of



Lepek, is consumed by all classes of Burmans, and is a great article of Native trade. It is eaten in small quantities, after meals, with garlic and sesamum oil; and it is customary to offer it to guests and strangers, as a token of welcome.

Q. Do you know how, and where, saltpetre is obtained in the Burman country?—A. Yes; I have seen it manufactured at a place called Aong-ben-le, about ten or twelve miles from Ava. The saltpetre appears as an efflorescence on the soil, which is washed and filtrated. The lye is boiled in Chinese iron-pans, and the crystals form about a piece of wood inserted in the pots. The same lye affords common salt, which is separated by a process which I do not understand.

Q. Were the saltpetre grounds extensive in the vicinity of Aong-ben-le?—A. The whole country appeared to me to be impregnated with saltpetre. It was very barren, and produced nothing but a few tamarind-trees and thorns. A few of the lowlands, watered by a large tank several miles long, and about two broad, afforded rice. There is another place, to the southward of Ava, where saltpetre is manufactured in larger quantity than at Aong-ben-le.

Q. How do the Chinese convey their goods?—A. On small horses and mules, which they do not dispose of, but take back to China.

Q. What time do the Chinese take in travelling from their own country to Ava?—A. I cannot precisely say, but I have heard two months.

Q. What returns do the Chinese chiefly carry back with them?—A. The principal article is cotton, and then ivory and bees' wax, with a small quantity of British woollens, chiefly broad-cloths and carpets.

Q. Have you heard what quantity of cotton is exported from Ava to China annually?—A. I have made in-

quity, and seen great quantities exported. I consider, the quantity cannot be less than seventy thousand Bengal bales, of three hundred pounds each.

Q. Do you know any thing of the quality of this cotton, and whether it be cleaned, or goes in the seed?

—A. The greater part of it is cleaned: all that is sent on horseback is so. The cotton of the lower provinces is of a short staple, that of the upper long, and of the finest texture.

Q. Did you ever hear that the cotton of Pegu is sent to Chittagong and Dacca?—A. I have understood it is, and that from it is manufactured the fine Dacca muslin.

Q. Do you know any thing of the trade carried on with the country of the Shans, or, as it is called by Europeans, the kingdom of Lao?—A. Yes. The Shans repair annually, in the dry season, to the Burman country, bringing with them, stick-lac, bees' wax, a yellow dye-wood, various drugs and gums, the names of which I do not know; raw silk, lacker-ware, ready-made clothes, consisting of jackets stuffed with cotton; onions, and garlic, turmeric, and coarse cane-sugar in cakes. Stick-lac is the principal article. The returns are dry fish and nappi, with salt.

Q. Where are the fairs held to which the people resort?

—A. The chief fair is held at a place called Plek, from six to eight miles south of Ava, on a small river which falls into the Irawadi under the walls of the capital. I have been there purchasing stick-lac. The next largest fair is at the Dagon Pagoda, near Rangoon. There are several minor ones along the east bank of the Irawadi.

Q. You have stated you were imprisoned on the 28th May?—A. Yes.

Q. How were you arrested?—A. I was called to the palace by a messenger, who stated that the King wished to see me. When I arrived there, I was interrogated by a



secretary. After the interrogation, I was delivered into the hands of a gaoler, and detained in the palace that day and following night. Next day I was interrogated by another secretary. The principal charge made against me was, that I had brought up newspapers with me when I came last from Rangoon, and did not communicate the contents to the Court.

Q. What answer did you give to the charge?—A. I stated, that I was forbid the Court,—did not understand the Burman language, and therefore had no means of communication.

Q. Had any person advised you in regard to the conduct you ought to pursue upon such an occasion?—A. Yes. The Prince of Sarawadi advised me to say nothing about the war, or give any information respecting the dispute about the island of Shahpari.

Q. After your second interrogatory, how were you disposed of?—A. I was kept under arrest at the palace until the 8th of June, when I was committed to the state gaol, with three pair of irons, by sentence of the Lotoo.

Q. How were you treated when in the palace?—A. During my stay there, I was put seven times into the stocks, for not above a quarter of an hour on each occasion. I was each time released on payment of a small bribe, to extort which was the object of putting me in.

Q. Were you maltreated when sent from the palace to the state prison?—A. No; none of the prisoners were maltreated, with the exception of Mr. Judson.

Q. How were you treated in prison?—A. At first, the whole of the prisoners had a long bamboo passed between the legs, over the fetters; so that one leg rested on the bamboo, and the other on the platform on which we lay. We had no mats or pillows to lie on. Our food was not

allowed to be brought into the gaol to us by our servants, without paying a bribe at the door. The head-gaoler informed us, that we might be released from this state by paying among us, to the best of my recollection, between two and three thousand ticals. There were nine of us; we refused to pay so large a sum, and a smaller one was taken. As far as I remember, Messrs. Judson and Price paid one hundred ticals each. Mr. Gouger, for himself and two persons imprisoned along with him, two hundred and fifty ticals. The Prince of Sarawadi promised to pay two hundred ticals for me, but did not pay them, for I was a second time put in close confinement, after the Prince had quitted Ava to take command of the army, and told it was on this account.

Q. Were the prisoners ever prevented from holding intercourse with each other?—A. Yes; we were at one time put in separate cells, and prohibited from speaking to each other. Indeed, we were generally prohibited from conversing with each other, and for the three first months rigidly so.

Q. Were you supplied with food and clothes by the Government while in prison?—A. No, with not a particle of either; we were even obliged to pay half a tical a month for permission to our servants to come in with our food, besides other occasional exactions. It is not the custom to feed any description of prisoners. The Sepoy prisoners of the British army were, contrary to custom, ordered to be fed by the King, but the gaolers plundered them of the greatest part of what was ordered.

Q. How long were you imprisoned in Ava?—A. Somewhat more than eleven months.

Q. Where were you sent, after being taken out of gaol in Ava?—A. First to Amarapura, where we stayed one day, and then to Aong-ben-le, ten or twelve miles from Ava.



Q. Were you maltreated when conveyed from Ava to Aong-ben-le?—A. Yes; we were stripped of all our clothes, except a pair of trowsers and a shirt; a rope was tied round our waists, and we were bound two and two. A keeper, who had a rope two or three fathoms long fixed to each prisoner, drove us along; and in this manner, in the heat of the sun, and in the month of May, we travelled, barefooted and bareheaded, to Amarapura. At this place, our feet being blistered and cut, and being no longer able to travel, we were put in irons, and sent in carts to Aong-ben-le.

Q. Did any of the prisoners suffer from this treatment?—A. Yes; a Greek of the name of Constantine was killed by it. An officer of rank, to whose charge we were delivered, accompanied us from Ava, and perceiving that the Greek could not travel, ordered a horse for him. After the governor was out of the way, the horse was taken away. He could not go on, and was dragged for some way along the ground; a cart was then pressed, and he was put into it. He arrived close to the old palace at four in the afternoon, insensible, and expired about sunset.

Q. Did you see Constantine the Greek dragged along the ground?—A. Yes; I did.

Q. How did he come to suffer more than the rest?—A. He was an old man, and the sinews of his legs were contracted.

Q. What do you suppose was the reason for your being taken from Ava to Aong-ben-le?—A. The Pakan-wun, appointed to the command of the army after the death of Bandula, had been for a few days our fellow-prisoner at Ava, and used to promise Mr. Rodgers, if released, to do something for our comfort. Aong-ben-le was his place of birth, and we therefore, at first, imagined we were sent

there at his intercession ; we were afterwards informed that it was his intention to massacre us at the head of his army, which was to march through Aong-ben-le for this purpose.

Q. Do you know what became of the Pakan-wun?—

A. He was put to death by being trod upon by elephants, on a charge of treason, about a month after he was raised to power.

Q. Are you of opinion that he intended to destroy you?—A. No ; I never thought so, but I think it likely that he wished to destroy two of the party, Rodgers and Lanciego ; who had, as officers of the Burman Government, thwarted him several times. He was a clever and ambitious man, and having been twice punished by the King, it was supposed he wished to avenge himself, by dethroning his Majesty, and assuming the Government. Had he succeeded in this, he would have made peace with the English and used us as instruments in bringing it about.

Q. How were you treated in the prison at Aong-ben-le?—A. Worse than at Ava: I was five or six times put into the stocks to extort money from me, and had to pay four times for the irons I had on.

Q. Was your property confiscated?—A. It was seized by the Government, with the exception of my wearing-apparel, and we lived upon the labour or begging of our servants.

Q. Did your Indian servants behave well to you during your imprisonment?—A. Yes, extremely well, particularly a Talain and Malay domestic.

Q. From what class of the natives did you receive the greatest kindness?—A. From the petty traders and poor people. The only people of rank who paid us attention, were the wife of the Governor of Aong-ben-le, and the Myosare of that place.



Q. How many Sepoys or Native officers were confined along with you?—A. About two hundred and fifty were confined at one time for a day or two only; seven were left in close confinement with us, all of whom died, but one, of dysenteries, brought on by irregular supplies of food. Sometimes they had nothing to eat for two or three days, and then they had too much and ate voraciously.

(Signed)

JOHN LAIRD.

THE REVEREND MR. A. JUDSON.

Q. WHAT is your name, and of what country are you a native?—A. My name is Adoniram Judson, and I am a native of Massachussets, in the United States of America.

Q. How long have you resided in the Burman dominions?—A. I arrived at Rangoon in the month of July 1813, and have resided in the Burman dominions ever since, with the exception of two short visits made to Bengal and Madras.

Q. How have you been generally occupied during that time?—A. For the first six years of my stay, I was entirely occupied in studying the Burmese language, and framing a dictionary of it; and for the next four in preaching the Gospel to the natives, translating the New Testament into the Burmese language, with the other duties of the Mission. For twenty-one months I was a prisoner, out of which I was seventeen in irons.

Q. Have you resided any time at the Burmese Court?—A. I have visited Ava, or Amarapura, three times, and resided there in all near three years.

Q. Had you, during that time, any intercourse with any of the members of the Royal family, or the principal officers?—A. In my second visit to Ava, in 1822, I had frequent intercourse with the Palace, knew almost every member of the Royal family, and both the public and private officers of State, the Woonghees and Attawuns. I have spent whole days at the Palace, and five or six times attended the morning levees, which is considered a matter of especial privilege. I arrived at Ava, the third time, in the beginning of 1824. I then visited the Palace, and renewed my acquaintance with the Chiefs, but was received coldly by his Majesty. I continued, as in my former visit, however, to visit at the houses of the King's brothers and sisters, the Queen's brother, and other principal officers.

Q. What, according to your opinion, was the cause of your being coldly received by his Majesty, during your third visit to the Court?—A. I conceive, that the principal reason was, the approaching rupture between the British and Burman Governments.

Q. Was there any distinction made between American and British subjects by the Court of Ava?—A. Before the war commenced, it was fully explained to the Burmese Government, that the American Missionaries were not-subjects of Great Britain; and under this impression, I thought it safe to visit the Court in 1824, although then of opinion that war was impending. The imprisonment of the American Missionaries, after the commencement of the war, now convinces me that they made no distinction. The Burmese, in fact, are of opinion, that all white men, except the French, are subjects of the King of England. Since the overthrow of the Emperor Napoleon, they even believe that France has become part of the King of



England's dominions. The Americans are peculiarly liable to be confounded with the English, from speaking the same language.

Q. On your way from Rangoon to Ava, in 1824, did you observe any hostile preparations making?—A. I observed none until reaching Prome, when I heard that troops were levying in all the provinces above that place. As I advanced, I saw in several places the conscripts quitting the villages where they had been raised. Between Sembeguen and Pugan, I met the Bandula proceeding in state to take command of an army assembled at the former place. I was told that the destination of this army was the British frontier.

Q. Did you see the army which you have now mentioned?—A. No; I did not; I passed on the opposite side of the river; and at all events, Sembeguen, where the troops would be assembled, is several miles distant from the bank. I saw only the troops in the immediate suite of Bandula, probably not above one thousand.

Q. Were you told, and by whom, that the army of Bandula intended to attack the British dominions?—A. I was told that such was the intention, but I cannot specify any particular authority for this opinion: the impression was general among the people: no secret was made of it.

Q. Had you any personal intercourse with Bandula, on the occasion of meeting his fleet on the river?—A. No; I did not see Bandula, but my boat was stopped and examined by his orders. I stated that I was proceeding to the capital by orders from the King, and was allowed to pass.

Q. Do you know what became of the army of Bandula, to which you now allude?—A. Soon after my arrival in Ava, I heard that Bandula with his army had arrived

at the place of his destination, and had sent the Burmese Government a plan of some meditated attack on the British territory. This was stated to me by a person who had heard the King mention this circumstance at one of the morning levees. I cannot recollect the person who gave me this information, but think it was Dr. Price, who was then more in habits of visiting the Palace than myself.

Q. During your residence at the Court, have you ever observed any disposition on the part of the officers of Government to enter into a war with the British?—A. From the first visit I made to Ava, such a disposition has always been manifested whenever an occasion presented itself to express it. I heard such sentiments expressed by the principal officers of Government, but more particularly by the members of the Royal family.

Q. Did such a disposition exist during the late reign?—A. I have understood that it did; but cannot speak from personal experience on this subject, not having, although in the country, visited the Court of Ava until the accession of the present King.

Q. What, according to your opinion, led to the late war between the British and Burman Governments?—A. A jealousy of the British power on the part of the Burmans, confidence in their own prowess on account of the recent conquests of Cassay and Assam, and a desire to extend their territory.

Q. What opinion did the Burmese Court entertain of the military character of the British nation and power in India, previous to the war?—A. They thought the British power formidable to the Hindus only; but considered themselves a superior order of men, whom the British could not withstand in battle, both on account of personal courage, skill in stratagem, and the practice of desultory



modes of warfare, which would fatigue and destroy a British army.

Q. Did you hear what was thought at Court when news arrived of the capture of Rangoon?—A. It was considered a mere marauding incursion, similar to that which the Siamese frequently made on the province of Martaban—an example quoted at the time. The King frequently expressed his anxiety for the speedy march of his troops, lest the English who had landed at Rangoon should escape.

Q. Who were the persons about the Court that most frequently expressed, in your hearing, a desire for war with the British Government in India?—A. The Prince of Sarawadi, brother to the King, a favourite, and the person next to him in rank; the Princess of Taongdwen, the eldest sister of the King, and on that account unmarried, according to immemorial usage; a person of great intelligence, and perfectly well acquainted with the feelings of the Court; and the Seah Wonghee, the King's tutor, and amongst the courtiers next in influence to the Queen's brother.

Q. Can you recollect any particulars of conversations held with any of the individuals now mentioned, on the subject of war with the English?—A. I have frequently heard the Prince of Sarawadi expatiate for half an hour together upon this subject. His language used to be to the following purport. I render the expressions from the Burman as nearly as I can recollect them. "The English are the inhabitants of a small and remote island. What business have they to come in ships from so great a distance to dethrone kings, and take possession of countries they have no right to? They contrive to conquer and govern the black strangers with caste (Hindus) who have puny

frames and no courage. They have never yet fought with so strong and brave a people as the Burmans, skilled in the use of the sword and spear. If they once fight with us, and we have an opportunity of manifesting our bravery, it will be an example to the black natives, who are now slaves to the English, and encourage them to throw off their yoke." About a month before my imprisonment, the King's sister, already mentioned, said to me in conversation, that it was obvious the English were afraid to fight; that their conduct on the frontier was mean and cowardly; that they were always disposed to treat and not to fight; and that upon some occasions, when the Burman and British troops met, the British officers held up their hands to entreat the Burmans not to advance. She insisted that the whole conduct of the British for some time past indicated unequivocal symptoms of fear. She added: "We shall now fight certainly, and will no longer be dissuaded. The new Governor-General acts foolishly; he is afraid of us, and attempts to coax us, yet continues the usual course of aggression and encroachment."

Q. Did you ever hear the Seah Wonghee, the King's tutor, express any opinion on the prospect of a war with the English?—A. The late Seah Wonghee was a man of few words and of a cautious disposition. I have often heard him talk of the danger to the Burmans of the neighbourhood of the British power, and the necessity of watching their conduct. I once obtained a grant of land for a house through this officer. He took a long time in wording the document, and took especial care to mention to his people, in my presence, calling upon me to understand what he said, that the grant was not in perpetuity, lest it might hereafter be claimed, he said, as the territory of the American Government. In this he appeared to me to refer to



the history of British aggrandizement in India. It was through his officers, chiefly, that I learned the sentiments of this individual.

Q. Can you recollect the names of any other individual of consequence who expressed in your presence an opinion on the question of a war between the Burman and British Governments?—A. From the nature of the Burman Government, the principal officers of State express themselves with extreme caution on all public questions. The same caution was not so necessary to the King's brothers and sisters, and therefore they expressed themselves more freely. As the war approached, this caution increased; and when the subject, upon one occasion, was introduced before one of the Attawuns, this officer did not hesitate to insinuate, that the American Missionaries were spies of the British Government. I have heard the dependents of the chief ministers, and other subordinate officers of Government, on innumerable occasions, express similar sentiments on a war with the British, to those which I have ascribed to the Prince of Sarawadi and the Princess of Taungdwen.

Q. Did you hear that any proposition for the conquest of the British territories was ever entertained on the part of the Burman Government?—A. In the presence of the Princess of Taungdwen, I was once consulted by her officers on the practicability of conquering Bengal. My reply was, that it was as difficult for the Burmans to conquer Bengal, as for the English to conquer Ava; which expression was viewed by the Burmans as affording as strong an affirmation of the impracticability of the scheme, as words could convey. Their answer was, "You do not believe just now,—in a little while you will be convinced." This conversation, to the best of my recollection, took place in March or April 1824, after the march of Bandula's army, which was the subject of discourse when my opinion was asked.

Q. Can you recollect any other circumstance affording an intimation of the sentiments of the Court of Ava on the subject of a war with the British?—A. Nothing specific; but I may mention a circumstance which occurred to me one morning, during my second visit to Ava, at the close of the year 1822. I met one of the officers of the young Heir-apparent, the only son of the King, then a child of about eleven years of age. I asked this person some questions respecting his young master. In the course of the conversation, he used the following expression:—"This is the Prince who, when he arrives at manhood, is to rule over all your Kula countries." This prediction in favour of the young Prince was a matter of general belief among the Burmans, and could refer only to the British territories, being the only Kula countries accessible to the Burmans.

Q. What is the meaning of the term Kula?—A. Its original meaning was, men having caste, or Hindus; but now it is extended to all the nations lying west of Ava, who are divided by the Burmans into *black* and *white* Kulas.

Q. Have you understood that any of the Asiatic strangers residing in Ava were instrumental in exciting the Burmans to a war with the British?—A. I have uniformly understood that the Brahmins of Cassay, Munnipore, and Upper India, residing in Ava, from hatred of the British rule, were active in instigating the Burmans to war.

Q. Are there many Brahmins residing at the Court of Ava?—A. A great many; and they are particularly favoured by the King, and often consulted.

Q. Did you ever hear any person connected with the Burman Government complain of any specific act of aggression on the part of the British?—A. I have always heard that the principal complaint, was the refusal on the part of the British to deliver up refugees. This had been a subject of complaint during my whole residence in the Bur-



man dominions. At the commencement of the war, I also heard it stated that the British had forcibly seized an island in the Naaf river, belonging to the Burmans. Mr. Lanciego, a Spanish gentleman in the Burman service, who was imprisoned with me, informed me that he had told the King, that the dispute concerning the Naaf island might be settled, and war avoided. The King answered, "We have gone too far, and must proceed." This expression, according to Mr. Lanciego, was pronounced by his Majesty in a tone which seemed to indicate that he personally regretted the prospect of war with the English.

Q. Does Mr. Lanciego understand the Burman language, and on what terms was he with the King?—A. Mr. Lanciego understands the Burman language perfectly, and was a great favourite of the King. He had high titles, and was Collector of the Port of Rangoon.

Q. What sensation was produced at Ava by the success of Bandula at Ramoo?—A strong sensation, as I understood from others; for when the news came I was a prisoner. I saw, from the place of my confinement, the prisoners, their baggage, arms, and ammunition, carried in public procession, and the King himself came out to view the spectacle.

Q. Have you ever heard that the Burman Government has felt displeasure at the British power being an obstacle to the extension of its territories to the westward?—A. When I was at Court, for the first time, in 1819, the year of his present Majesty's accession to the throne, the late Mr. Gibson, who afterwards went on a mission to Cochin China, was engaged by the King's orders in constructing a map of the Burman dominions, together with the adjacent countries of Hindostan, Siam, and Cochin China: Mr. Gibson had exhibited this map to the King, and came to me from the palace, mentioning what had taken place. The

King, on seeing the map, used the following expression : “ You have assigned the English too much territory.” Mr. Gibson said that the map gave a correct representation of the extent of the British dominions. The King answered, with evident feelings of dissatisfaction : “ The territory of the strangers is unreasonably large.” This was before the conquest of Assam, and it was observed that this country would be a desirable acquisition to the Burmans.

Q. Are you of opinion that the late war might have been avoided on the part of the British by negotiation? —A. I am of opinion that war was ultimately inevitable, but might, perhaps, have been delayed for a short time, by the British Government yielding to all the demands of the Burmans, especially the restitution of the refugees. The next demand would have been for Chittagong and Dacca.

Q. What reason have you for believing that Chittagong and Dacca would have been demanded?—A. The Burmans considered that they had a good claim to them, as having once been dependencies of the kingdom of Aracan. I have heard this claim frequently urged, and, to the best of my recollection, on one occasion by the Prince of Sarawadi. The claim to these parts of the British dominions was so generally maintained by all classes of public officers, that if I had introduced the subject, I might have heard it insisted upon every day of my life.

Q. Did you ever see any royal proclamations, edicts, or other public documents of the Burman Government concerning the late war?—A. It is not generally the custom of the Burman Government to publish proclamations on such occasions. There was no declaration of war, which is also not customary. The people in general know



nothing of war, but by the levy of troops and contributions. When in prison, I heard a royal edict repeated by one of the town-secretaries within the prison-yard. It was when the British army had reached Sarwa. It stated that, whereas "the rebel strangers" had taken possession of Rangoon, and issued their orders, in defiance of the King's authority in the lower countries, his Majesty would take the field in person, with 100,000 Burmans and 100,000 Shans; and it proceeded to make arrangements for his temporary absence. This was one of five or six edicts of the same nature, respecting his Majesty's departure from Ava to conduct the war in person.

Q. What was the reason of his Majesty not proceeding in person, in conformity with these edicts?—A. I do not believe that he ever seriously intended to march. The proposal to do so was intended to encourage the people, and an artifice to get some of the courtiers to volunteer their services.

Q. Did you ever hear what took place between the King and the Prince of Sarawadi, when the latter was proceeding to take the command of the army to oppose the English?—A. It was generally stated and believed, that the Prince said to his Majesty, that after driving the English out of the country, he trusted he would not be stopped, but allowed to pursue them into Bengal. This was thrown out with the hope of getting a favourable answer from the King, who only smiled, however, without giving any direct reply.

Q. What opinion did the Burmans entertain of the British Sepoys previous to the war?—A. They had a contemptible opinion of the Hindus, and the Mohammedans of Hindostan also, but did not understand what a Sepoy meant. I was frequently asked by the Government offi-

cers, who and what the Sepoys were, after the commencement of the war, and while in prison—whether they were slaves of the British Government, or persons employed on pay, or what? Mr. Lanciego, the Spanish gentleman already alluded to, informed me, that when once consulted by the King, respecting the prospect of carrying on a war with the English, he persuaded his Majesty against it, and particularly mentioned that the British had 200,000 Sepoys, well armed and disciplined. Upon that occasion, neither his Majesty nor his courtiers seemed to understand what a Sepoy meant. His Majesty, on hearing what Mr. Lanciego said, retired abruptly; and the courtiers expressed their displeasure at his saying any thing to discourage the King from entering upon a war with the English.

Q. What opinion did the Burmese entertain of the Sepoys after the commencement of hostilities?—A. They entertained a poor opinion of them, and thought they could easily beat them, after their success at Ramoo, and in an affair which, I understand, took place at Rungpore. It was confidently stated by the Burmans, that while operations were going forward before Rangoon, the Sepoys were amicably disposed towards them, were anxious to spare them, and frequently warned them of the European troops. All this was very generally believed, and I myself entertained no doubt of it at the time. It was also stated, that an amicable traffic was carried on between the Sepoys and Burmese troops, in which the former, among other articles, occasionally disposed of muskets to the latter.

Q. Where were you when Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowall's detachment was repulsed from Wattigong, and that officer killed?—A. I was a prisoner in the Burman camp at Mellun.



Q. What brought you there?—A. I was sent from Ava to act as interpreter to the Prince Memiabo.

Q. When were you sent back from thence to Ava?—A. Immediately on news being received at Mellun of the British army having advanced from Prome.

Q. While encamped at Mellun, did you see any prisoners of the British army?—A. I saw Lieut. Scott and twenty Sepoys, the latter taken at Wattigong.

Q. Do you know what was their conduct when brought before the Burman chiefs?—A. Yes. I was present when the Sepoys in question were brought, first before the Prince Memiabo, and afterwards before Kaulen Mengi, and interrogated by the latter, through a Hindustani interpreter, with my occasional assistance.

Q. What questions were put to them?—A. They chiefly regarded the strength of the British army, and the effects likely to result from the death and defeat of Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowall, who was supposed by the Burmans to be a general of high rank.

Q. How did the Sepoys reply, and what was the nature of their demeanour?—A. They answered with spirit, and the tendency of all their replies seemed to be for the advantage of their own Government. As far as I could judge, they purposely exaggerated the numbers and resources of the British army; and in reference to the death of Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowall in particular, they explained the organization of the British force, stating that the death of a superior officer, even of the Commander-in-chief, would be attended with no disorder, as the next senior officer always took his place. The loyalty displayed by them gave offence to Kaulen Mengi, who got out of humour on hearing their replies.

Q. Did the Sepoys address you, or did you speak to them?—A. They recognized me with emotion, as an

European, the moment I presented myself, and seemed to think that I could afford them protection. By direction of Kaulen Mengi, I spoke to them in English, but they did not understand me, and I do not speak any of the languages of Hindostan. In giving the tenour of their answers, I go upon the translations of them rendered to Kaulen Mengi by the Hindustane interpreter.

Q. What impression did the conduct of the Sepoys upon this occasion make upon you?—A. From the unfavourable reports I had heard before, I thought the Sepoys lukewarm in the cause of the European Government. The conduct observed by them on the present occasion shook that opinion.

Q. Were the Sepoys in irons when brought before the Burman chiefs?—A. No; they were not in irons, but they had wooden yokes about their necks. They were afterwards put in irons, and sent to Ava.

Q. Did you meet, during your stay in Ava, any of the Sepoy prisoners taken on the Bengal frontier?—A. Yes; a number of the native officers were confined with me in the same prison, but, from the want of language, no intercourse took place between us. I only heard their sentiments occasionally through Mr. Gouger, an English gentleman who was one of my fellow-prisoners. I think they all died from hard treatment, with the exception of one person, whom I brought down with me to the British camp at Yandabo.

Q. What opinion did the Burmese, previous to the war, entertain of the European troops of the British army?—A. They had a better opinion of them than of the Hindus; but considered them luxurious and effeminate, incapable of standing the fatigues of war, and therefore unable to contend with a people hardy like themselves, who could carry on war with little food and no shelter.



Q. What is their present opinion of the European troops?—A. They consider them nearly invincible, fierce, and blood-thirsty, and discovering almost supernatural prowess. I have heard them compare them in action to a particular class of demons, called Balú, that, according to Burman notions, feed on human flesh. They have compared the rapidity of their movements to a whirlwind. The skill of the Europeans in the use of artillery, and especially in that of rockets and shells, astonishes them, and is incomprehensible to them. I should add, that the forbearance and moderation of the European troops after victory, and their obedience to command, and regularity of discipline, is a subject of admiration with them. In comparison with the Sepoys, they also observed that they were indifferent to plunder.

Q. Are you aware when this revolution in regard to the character of the European soldiery took place with the Burmans?—A. The first circumstance of the war which made a deep impression on the Burman Court, was the sudden and complete destruction, to use the language of the Burmans themselves, of the Thongba Woonghee and his party of about one thousand men, in a stockade near Rangoon. I heard from a Burmese who was present in the action, and who, for some political offence, on his return to Ava, became my fellow-prisoner, that this was effected by about three hundred Europeans. The Court being displeased with the procrastination of Ki Woon-ghee, had sent Thongba Woonghee, a brave but hot-headed man, to supersede him. This person was determined to fight. He sent, I think, an Armenian as a spy to Rangoon, who brought back news that the English were preparing to attack his stockade. The messenger was put to death for bringing accounts tending to discourage the troops; but the execution was hardly over,

when the British troops presented themselves before the stockade. My informant, and other persons, afterwards gave a most appalling account of the attack of the “Balús,” as they called them. The gate of the stockade was choked up by the runaways, and almost every man in it put to death by the bayonet. Thongba Woonghee was killed in the fight by one of his own people. This mode of attack was totally contrary to all that the Burmans knew of war, and struck them with consternation. They stated, that when one of the assailants was killed, another immediately took his place, and that they were not to be discouraged from advancing, even by wounds; so that it was in vain to contend with such an enemy. Their imaginations were so wrought upon, that to these particulars they added many fabulous ones,—such as, that the Europeans continued to advance, after their hands had been chopped off in scrambling over the stockades; that the arms and legs of the wounded were carefully picked up and replaced by the English surgeons, who were represented to be as skilful as the warriors were bold. The next circumstance which brought about the revolution in question, was the defeat of Bandula in his lines before Rangoon, and his flight to Donabew; an event which struck the Burmans dumb, and for a time made them consider their affairs desperate. They thought the British army would then immediately march upon Ava. The Princesses of Pugan and Shwadong, with the Queen-mother, when the news arrived in Ava, sent for Mrs. Judson, and communicated to her the particulars of Bandula’s defeat. The Princess of Pugan said on that occasion: “The Bandula’s troops have piled up their arms for the use of the foreigners. They have all dispersed, and the enemy has nothing to do but to march to Ava, clapping their hands.” Mrs. Judson’s advice was asked



by the Princesses. They wished to know whether they ought to run away or stay; and if they stayed, whether there was any chance of safety for them. They entreated her protection and good offices with the English. Upon the failure at Donabew, the Burmans again somewhat recovered their spirits, and Bandula was supported by all the strength the country could afford. The death of Bandula again threw the Court into consternation.

Q. What, in your opinion, prevented the Burmans from negotiating during the war?—A. All idea of negotiation is repugnant to the pride of the Burmans, and contrary to their custom. They believe the conquering party will always keep what it has got, if it can; and that negotiation is therefore useless. Overtures to treat are always looked upon either as a mark of weakness, or they are considered as an artifice to gain time.

Q. Do you know what was said of the first overture made by Sir A. Campbell to treat from Prome?—A. The nine Europeans who were imprisoned were sent for to translate the letter of Sir A. Campbell, which perplexed the Court extremely; the idea of treating in the commanding situation in which he was then, appearing so utterly unaccountable to them. They endeavoured to explain it in various ways. Sometimes they imagined that he was induced to treat from the prevalence of great sickness in the army; at other times, they imagined that the King of England had disapproved of the war; then, that the Seiks had risen against the English in Upper India; but the most prevalent opinion was, that the King of Cochin China had sent a fleet of fifty ships to assist the Burmans. The King went the length of sending a dispatch-boat to the mouth of the Rangoon river, to ascertain whether the Cochin Chinese fleet had actually arrived or not.

Q. Do you think the Burmese Government now understands the nature of a negotiation with an European Government?—A. I think they certainly do; but nothing but actual experience could convince them. After the negotiation which led to the peace, they were still incredulous of the good faith of the British, and could not bring themselves to believe that they were sincere until the first retrograde movement of the army. The payment of the money was a desperate experiment on their part, for they thought that the British would take it, and still march on. I was questioned a hundred times over on this subject by the Woongees, and other principal officers of the Government, having been sent for at all hours of the day and night, by different parties, for this purpose. I was asked what pledge I would give, and particularly if I was willing to leave my wife and child behind, in order to be put to death, should the English take money and still advance upon the capital.

Q. Do you consider the Burman Government very faithless?—A. Utterly so. They have no idea either of the moral excellence or the utility of good faith. They would consider it nothing less than folly to keep a treaty if they could gain any thing by breaking it. The fidelity hitherto observed by the British Government in fulfilling the stipulations of the late treaty, stupified the Burmans. They knew not what to make of it; but some of them have now begun to admire it. I heard many make use of expressions like the following: “These Kulas, although they drink spirits and slay cattle, and are ambitious and rapacious, have a regard for truth and their word, which is quite extraordinary; whereas, in us Burmese, there is no truth.” The first circumstance in the conduct of the British which struck them with surprise, was the return of Dr. Sandford on his parole; and next,



Sir A. Campbell's returning the six lacs of rupees offered, after it was within his power.

Q. Has not the conduct of the British towards Burman prisoners produced a favourable impression?—A. This produced a favourable impression on the lower classes, but not on the Government, who viewed it as a piece of policy practised by the British to conciliate the people, and seduce them from their allegiance.

Q. While at the Court of Ava, did you ever hear of any intrigue going on between the Burmese Government and any of the native Princes of Hindostan?—A. I heard on three or four occasions, that the late Bandula boasted that he maintained a secret correspondence with several native Princes of Hindostan, who, according to him, would rise against the British, as soon as the Burmans would set them a good example. Reports of such insurrections were frequently propagated and received with avidity by the Burman Court. There arrived in Ava, I think in 1823, eight or ten Seiks, purporting to be a mission from the Rajah of their country. They stated, that they had suffered shipwreck in crossing a river, and lost the letter and presents which they had from their master for the King of Ava. I understood that the object of their mission was a treaty, offensive and defensive, to drive the British out of India. For a long time they were honourably received, but during the war they became suspected, and were for a short time imprisoned. They were finally sent back with letters, and a sum of money given to each individual. I heard officers of Government state, that the alliance would be very desirable, particularly as the King of the Seiks had never been subdued by the English.

Q. Do you know any thing of the object of the late Burman Mission to Cochin China?—A. I have understood

that the object of it was an alliance, offensive and defensive, by which the two powers were to attack the Siamese, from the East and West, conquer the country, and partition it between them.

Q. Do you know of any political connexion between the Burmese and Chinese Governments?—A. An Embassy arrived in Ava in 1823, which I have understood to be from the Emperor of China. A white elephant and a princess were demanded in strong language, which occasioned some alarm to the Burman Court, under an impression that the Chinese wanted to quarrel with them. The white elephant and the princess, there being none to spare, were refused, and a number of common elephants and other presents were sent.

Q. Have you ever heard that the Burmese claimed the assistance of the Chinese in their war with the English?—

A. I never heard any mention of such a thing in Ava.

Q. Did you ever hear any of the officers of the Burman Government express regret that the Burmese had entered into a war with the English?—A. I have, in innumerable instances. During my imprisonment, a great number of public officers, falling under the displeasure of the Government, were imprisoned along with me; and, gaining the good opinion of some of them, I conversed intimately with them on the subject of the war. As early as November 1824, twenty Stewards of Townships, belonging to various Princesses, and other ladies of the palace, got into disgrace, and were imprisoned. These stated to me, that the King was good-natured, and unwilling to disoblige any one; had been teased and over-persuaded into a war with the English, through the intrigues of certain ambitious military leaders, particularly Bandula and Maongkyaio; that, in an evil hour, they induced him to do that which they all now would give the world could be undone.



I said to one of the persons in question, "Suppose the English were now to retire, and leave matters as they stood before the war." His answer was, "Oh! how good that would be!" This feeling became more general as the British army advanced; and latterly, it was universal from the King downwards; for, from the destruction of Thongba Woonghee and his force, and the retreat of Bandula from the lines before Rangoon, they perceived that they were no match for the British. I may add, that after these two affairs, their efforts were made with scarcely any hopes of success. Still they went on, because their astrologers continued to predict success, and their wounded pride forbade them to make any concessions.

Q. Are you of opinion, from what you know of the character of the Burman Court, that the present peace will be lasting?—A. The Burmese have been so severely punished, that I think it will be a long time before any courtier will have the hardihood to propose another war with the British Government.

Q. What do you consider the most effectual means for the British Government to pursue, in order to maintain peace with the Burmans?—A. I think, that since the Burmans are now so thoroughly convinced of the superiority of the British power, that what is chiefly necessary, is to observe towards them a fair and upright course of dealing, and to insist upon their side on a strict maintenance of the Treaty. By showing them that you religiously observe the Treaty, they will, in their turn, take up the same idea, and follow your example.

Q. Do you consider the appointment of a British resident at the Court of Ava, in conformity with the Treaty, as necessary, or likely to be useful?—A. I do not consider the presence of such an officer at the Court of Ava absolutely necessary towards the maintenance of peace;

but I am of opinion that it will be highly useful in maintaining and extending your commercial relations.

Q. Do you consider that the presence of a consul, or other British agent, at Rangoon, is necessary, or likely to be useful?—A. If a resident be appointed at Ava, an inferior agent, depending upon him, will be necessary at Rangoon, as well for the purpose of protecting British commerce, as for maintaining a free intercourse between the resident and the British possessions.

Q. Do you consider that an annual mission from the Governor-General to the Court of Ava would be equally useful as a permanent resident?—A. No; I do not. A public officer, coming in this manner, would gain no knowledge of the country or people, and therefore would have less influence, and of course be less useful, than an agent residing permanently. The Court also will have no knowledge of him, a matter equally necessary. I am of opinion that the residency should, at all events, be permanent; and that when the chief authority is not present, a subordinate one should be there acting for him.

Q. Are you of opinion that a public agent of the British Government residing at Ava, is likely, with good management, to obtain an influence beneficial to his own Government at the Court?—A. Yes; I am fully of that opinion. Every thing, however, will depend on the character of the individual. I can conceive that the conduct of many men in that situation might, with the best intentions, be mischievous, rather than beneficial.

Q. What sort of demeanour, on the part of the British officers residing at Ava, do you consider would tend most to conciliate the Burmans, to maintain peace, and to promote the legitimate interests of the British Government?—A. I think the demeanour of the British resident and other officers ought to be mild and unassuming. The



Burmans have been conquered, and know it. They should not be reminded of it by haughtiness of conduct, or assumption of superiority on the part of the British officers. Stickling for rank or precedence is generally not necessary at the Court of Ava, or, at least, more is to be lost than gained by entering into a contention with the Court upon such minute points. Should the Burmese discover that the British envoy is disposed to contend on questions of etiquette, it would arouse their jealousy. They will imagine that he has been set over them as a master, and will be disposed to dispute every point with him. It should be recollected, that the present King is himself generally impatient of forms, of an open and playful disposition, easy of access, and disposed to admit familiarity of intercourse. I do not say that this will be the case in the beginning; it is very probable that he will at first consider it necessary to be reserved until he knows the terms on which he is to stand with the representatives of the British Government. The Burman Court will certainly, for some time, be suspicious concerning the motives of his appointment.

Q. You have read the depositions of John Baretto, and of Jeronimo De Cruz, which I have handed to you?—  
A. Yes; I have.

Q. What do you think of them?—A. There are some points to which I cannot speak, but in general they appear to me to be very correct.

Q. Are you acquainted with these two individuals?—A. I know John Baretto slightly; the other, not at all.

Q. Are you of opinion that there will be war between the Burmese and Siamese?—A. Immediately before leaving Ava, I heard it frequently asserted by the public officers of the Government, that a war with Siam would, under present circumstances, be highly desirable. They

stated that a soldier could not be obtained to fight against the "White Kulas" for one hundred and fifty ticals of flowered silver; whereas, if called upon to fight the Siamese or Talains, or any such people, they would "go forth dancing."

Q. Have you been frequently admitted into the presence of his Majesty the King of Ava?—A. During my second residence in Ava, of five or six months, I saw his Majesty almost every day. I sometimes saw him at his public levees, but at all times had free access to the palace, and have frequently conversed with the King on subjects of geography, religion, and history, for ten minutes or a quarter of an hour together. His Majesty was incapable of giving his attention to any subject for a longer time.

Q. What is his Majesty's personal appearance and character?—A. He is a man about forty years of age, of rather a dark complexion, and in person small and slender. His manners are graceful, and in public dignified. In private, he is affable, and playful to boyishness. His disposition is obliging and liberal, and he is anxious to see every one around him happy. His mind is indolent, and he is incapable of any continued application. His time is passed in sensual enjoyment, in listening to music, or seeing dancing or theatrical entertainments; but, above all, in the company of his principal Queen, to whom he is devoted even to infatuation. His personal activity is remarkable for an Eastern Prince, and scarcely a day passes that he does not go on the river in boats, or ride on horseback or an elephant. He is partial to Europeans. No person of this description comes before him without receiving some marks of kindness. The safety of the European and American prisoners is chiefly to be ascribed to this partiality. His Majesty is not bigoted to his own



religion. From conversations which I had with him on religious subjects, I am inclined to think that he believes in the existence of one God eternal, which is not a part of the Buddhist religion; but, in truth, he is indifferent to all religions. I never saw him perform an act of devotion but once. A handsome image of Gautama stands in a recess in the audience chamber, before which, after the levee, many of the courtiers perform their devotions. His Majesty never does, on such occasions; but one day, while I was in the audience chamber alone, his Majesty came walking in in his usual brisk and lively manner. He looked about him, and, appearing to have nothing else to do, knelt before the image, made a hasty prayer and obeisance to it, and jumped up again, proceeding straight to the stables to see his favourite horses fed.

Q. Have you ever been in the presence of her Majesty the Queen?—A. No; never. I was never presented to her Majesty; but have seen her three or four times in the palace, passing and repassing. One day, I was sitting in the hall of audience, when the King and Queen came out together from the inner apartments: his Majesty attempted to introduce me, saying, “This is the teacher I mentioned to you;” but the Queen looked another way, and would pay no attention, pulling the King along with her. She is much more haughty than his Majesty; and her character in all other respects differs widely from his, for she is reported to be avaricious, vindictive, intriguing, and bigoted. She was the daughter of a petty officer, a superintendent of gaols. She was first the King’s concubine, when he was heir-apparent. Her influence with his Majesty is so unbounded, that the Prince of Sarawadi and others of the Royal family have convinced themselves that she is a sorceress. No one dares hint at the obscurity of her origin. She has convinced

the King, in accordance with the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, implicitly believed by all the Burmans, that she was his chief Queen in a former state of existence, and that for some peccadillo she was punished by a low birth.

Q. Is her Majesty a woman of great personal charms? —A. She is about one year older than his Majesty. Her face is not handsome, but her person is rather tall and well-formed. Her manners are dignified and becoming her station.

Q. Has his Majesty any family?—A. Yes; one son by his first Queen, now about fifteen years of age; and a daughter by her present Majesty, about four or five years old, the idol of her parents. When the Queen experiences any difficulty in getting the request of a petition granted, the paper is put between the child's hands, and she is thrust in the King's way. This artifice never fails.

Q. Do you know any thing of the Queen's brother? —A. Yes; I have been presented to him, and visited him in all, perhaps, half a dozen times; but he is of too haughty and reserved a disposition to encourage approach.

Q. What is the character of this person, and in what estimation is he held at Court?—A. In character he bears a close resemblance to his sister. He is cruel, rapacious, and a great intriguer. He is in the entire confidence of his sister, and through her rules the kingdom. Since the death of the Seah Woonghec, he has no rival with the King, unless his Majesty's favourite brother, the Prince of Sarawadi.

Q. You have stated, that shortly after the commencement of hostilities between the British and the Burman Governments, you were imprisoned at Ava by the latter? —A. Yes.



Q. Were any grounds assigned for your imprisonment?  
—A. Nothing beyond its being stated that it was the will of the King.

Q. Were you ill-treated in the act of being arrested?—  
A. Nothing perhaps beyond what is usual in similar cases. I was tightly bound with cords, and thrown down and struck with the knees and elbows in the act of being secured. The cords were so firmly bound round my arms, that the skin was cut. By a bribe of ten ticals, the officers somewhat loosened the cords; and when I was brought before the governor of the town, or chief of the police, he reproved them for treating me so harshly.

Q. Were you put in irons?—A. Yes; immediately.

Q. What prison were you lodged in?—A. That in which all malefactors condemned to death are lodged.

Q. What description of persons were confined with you?—A. Burman thieves and robbers; state prisoners; deserters from the army, of an aggravated description; a few prisoners of war taken from the British; and the different European gentlemen, like myself, arrested in Ava.

Q. How were you treated in prison?—A. At first with great severity; but after we had bribed the governor to the extent of about one hundred ticals each, and the gaolers and other subordinate officers in proportion, we were treated with more lenity.

Q. What sort of severity was exercised towards you at first?—A. We were placed in the inner prison, and put in a sort of stocks, forbid a mat or pillows to sleep on, as well as all intercourse with our friends.

Q. Were you allowed food or clothing by the Government while in prison?—A. No; never. No prisoners are fed by the Government. They must starve unless supplied by their friends. An exception was sometimes

made in favour of British prisoners of war. The King ordered each a basket of rice a month (56lbs.), but they never got one-half of it.

Q. How long did you continue in the prison at Ava?—

A. Eleven months: nine months, with three pair of irons on; and two, with five.

Q. Where were you imprisoned after being liberated from your incarceration at Ava?—A. I was sent, along with the other European prisoners arrested, to a place about ten miles from Ava, and four from Amarapura, called Aongbenlé, and there imprisoned.

Q. What was the cause of your removal to Aongbenlé?—A. It was generally stated and believed, that the American and European prisoners were removed to that place for the purpose of being put to death, as a kind of sacrifice, previous to the Pakan-Wun taking the field against the English.

Q. Who was this Pakan-Wun?—A. An officer raised to the rank of Woonghee, and placed in the command of the army upon the death of Bandula, and the failure of the other chiefs who had acted against the English.

Q. Were you personally acquainted with him?—A. I had met him occasionally in the palace, and saw him for a few days in the same prison with myself, during a short confinement, when he had incurred the temporary displeasure of the King.

Q. You state, that it was intended to put you and the other prisoners to death; what do you suppose was the reason that this intention was not put in execution?—A. The intention of putting us to death was at the instigation of the Pakan-Wun. This person, after being about a month or six weeks in power, fell into disgrace, was charged with treasonable practices, and executed at an hour's notice. The idea of putting us to death was then dropped.



Q. What character did the Pakan Wun bear?—A. Of all the chiefs of rank, I think he was the worst man.

Q. Was the intention of putting you to death entertained at any other time than the occasion now alluded to?—A. We were assured that the Queen's brother had given orders several times to have us secretly executed.

Q. How do you consider that you escaped on these occasions?—A. The governor refused to execute the order without the express consent of the King. He hinted it to myself in prison, and told Mrs. Judson and the wife of Mr. Rodgers so, more explicitly.

Q. Were the prisoners' properties confiscated?—A. They were seized with a view to confiscation; but not formally confiscated. I afterwards received the value of what was taken from me, at the instigation of the British Commissioners.

Q. How did the natives of Hindostan in your employ behave to you during your imprisonment?—A. I had two Mohammedan natives of Bengal, who adhered to me faithfully throughout.

Q. Do you know any thing of a Mohammedan native of Bengal, a baker in the service of Mr. Gouger, one of your fellow-prisoners?—A. His conduct was beyond all praise. He adhered to his master at the risk of threats and punishment, and often fed him from his own labour.

Q. Were your Indian servants imprisoned?—A. They were confined to the house for a few days, and afterwards liberated, and allowed to attend upon us.

Q. How many Native officers of the British army were confined with you?—A. Seven or eight.

Q. What has become of those persons?—A. They all died in the prison, but one.

Q. What was the cause of their death?—A. The want of a regular supply of food. Sometimes they were two

or three days without food. When they were supplied, they eat to excess, which brought on bowel complaints, that proved fatal to them.

Q. Do you know what has become of the bulk of the Sepoys of the British army taken prisoners by the Burmans?—A. They were sent to a place called Monai, in the country of the Shans, which I suppose to be not less than two hundred miles from Ava. I was informed, before leaving Ava, that on the demand of the British Commissioners, they were ordered back, for the purpose of being delivered up.

Q. What was the reason of their being sent to so great a distance?—A. The Government, on the advance of the British army, was apprehensive that the prisoners might make a disturbance, and therefore sent them off for security.

Q. Have you read over the depositions which you have made before me, and which I handed over for your perusal?—A. Yes.

Q. Are they correctly recorded?—A. I have made two or three slight alterations with my pen, and they are now correct.

Q. Are you prepared to swear to them on oath?—A. In answer to this question, I beg to explain, that I object, from religious motives, to taking an oath on any occasion. For fifteen years, and since entering upon my present calling, I have not taken an oath. I do not object, however, to making a solemn affirmation of the truth of what I have deposed before you, and beg leave to say, that such affirmation was received from me, in lieu of an oath, by Governor Farquhar, of the Mauritius, in the year 1813.

(Signed)

A. JUDSON.



## JERONIMO DE CRUZ.

Q. What is your name, and of what country are you a native?—A. My name is Jeronimo de Cruz. I was born at Rangoon, and educated at the Portuguese school of that place.

Q. Where did you learn to speak English?—A. I made several voyages to Bengal, Madras, and Penang, as a Secunnie, or Quartermaster of an English ship, and in that situation learned a little English, Hindustane, and Malay.

Q. Do you understand the Burman language?—A. Yes; and can read and write it with facility: I also understand the Siamese, and a little of the Talain language, for I once resided nine months at Martaban, superintending the construction of a ship.

Q. What was your employment after you left off a sea-faring life?—A. I acted as a linguist to strangers at Rangoon.

Q. When the English arrived at Rangoon, where were you?—A. I had been at Ava sometime before; but when that event took place, I was on my way to Rangoon with the Sakia Woonghee, appointed Governor of Pegu, having then been nominated a King's Linguist.

Q. Are you acquainted with any of the principal officers of the Burman Government?—A. Yes.

Q. Who are they?—A. Mendagi, the Queen's brother, the Prince of Sarawadi, Memiaboo, the King's half-brother, the Ki-Woonghee and several others. I also knew the late Bandula.

Q. How long were you at Ava before the commencement of the war?—A. A few months.

Q. Did you ever hear any of the principal officers of the Burman Government express their sentiments respect-

ing a war with the British before its commencement?—*A.* After the conquest of Assam, I heard Bandula say to his Majesty, “I will also make over Bengal into your hands.” The King asked Mr. Lanciego’s opinion on the subject. I was then in that gentleman’s employment. Mr. Lanciego replied, “The conquest of Bengal is not practicable: the English are very powerful.” To which the King said, “You know nothing about it; are you afraid of losing the duties of the port of Rangoon? although the English do not come to trade, the French, the Chinese, the Telingas, the Parsees, and other people, will come.” Upon another occasion, at the house of Bandula, this officer, speaking to Mr. Lanciego respecting a war with the English, said, “You must go and prepare twenty ships at Rangoon for an expedition against Calcutta. I will attack Bengal from the side of Chittagong.” Mr. Lanciego answered, “How am I to build twenty ships; it takes a year to build one?”

*Q.* Were you present when this last conversation took place?—*A.* Yes.

*Q.* How soon before the war did this take place?—*A.* About two months before Bandula marched to Aracan.

*Q.* Have you heard that Bandula marched with an army to attack Bengal before the English arrived at Rangoon?—*A.* Yes; I have. I came down from Ava to Rangoon, in 1823, with Mr. Lanciego; and after staying a month at Rangoon, returned with that gentleman with the King’s duties. In going up, I saw the army of Bandula at Sembeguen. Mr. Lanciego stayed one day there, and had an interview with Bandula.

*Q.* Do you know what took place on that occasion?—*A.* No; I do not. Bandula took Mr. Lanciego into a private apartment, and I was not allowed to follow him. Mr. Lanciego appeared to have been persuading Bandula not to go to war; for he said, “I will petition his Majesty



not to go to war; and in the mean while you must march slowly." Bandula answered, "Yes; do you petition the King, and I will march slowly."

Q. Do you know what became of that army afterwards?—A. Before my arrival at Sembeguen, two detachments belonging to it, under the Attawuns Maonza and Maongkaing, had marched for Aracan.

Q. Do you know when Bandula himself marched?—A. Shortly after I arrived in Ava, a petition from Bandula came to the King, giving the news of the arrival of Maonza and Maongkaing at Aracan, and requesting orders. The King issued a royal order to Bandula, which directed him to march upon Chittagong to take that place, and then proceed for the capture of Calcutta.

Q. How did you hear this?—A. I was in daily habit of proceeding to the palace with Mr. Lanciego; and what happened at the Nilagang, or morning audience, I heard repeated in the evening.

Q. Did you hear any thing of the operations of Bandula's army on the Chittagong frontier?—A. No: when these operations took place, I was on my way to Rangoon, accompanying the Sakia Woonghee, who was going to take charge of his government.

Q. Have you heard any thing respecting the cause of the war between the Burmans and the English?—A. Yes; I heard that the Aracanese were in the habit of stealing men and cattle from the English country; and that the English, in consequence, put a guard upon a certain island in the Naaf river. The Governor of Aracan reported this last circumstance to the King, who sent him an order to drive the English out, if they did not retire peaceably. I also heard that two chiefs, called Maha Raja and Dubrajah, had fled from the Burman to the British territories, and that the English would not deliver them up.

Q. What did the Sakia Woonghee do when he heard of the arrival of the English at Rangoon?—A. He was at the time a little above Yandabo, and proceeded immediately to Rangoon. He afterwards fought at Kemmendine.

Q. Did you accompany him?—A. No; I was in a heavy boat, and did not reach Rangoon until a month afterwards.

Q. Were you present in any of the actions before Rangoon?—A. No; I was wandering about in the jungles for three months, looking for my wife and children, and only heard occasionally of what took place.

Q. What did the Burmans say when they heard of the arrival of the English at Rangoon?—A. They were very glad, and said they would soon kill them all. The English, they said, fought with their whole bodies exposed. They themselves would dig trenches, lie down in them, and, suddenly getting up, shoot all the strangers. A soldier at this time could be got for five ticals.

Q. What did the Burmans say when they heard of the destruction of Thongba Woonghee and his force?—A. They were much terrified, and could not be brought to fight. A soldier then could not be got for one hundred and fifty ticals.

Q. What opinion did the Burmans entertain of the British troops?—A. They were very much afraid of the Europeans. They said they fired straight at them; and in scaling the stockades, if one of them was killed, another took his place; and when a man's hand was cut off, he scrambled over with the other. They were not much afraid of the Sepoys, who, they said, fired over their heads, and warned them to be off. They said the Sepoys were friendly to them, and did not wish to hurt them: they were good men.



Q. Do you know what opinion the lower orders of Burmans and Talains entertain of the English Government?—

A. They would be pleased if the English were to stay at Rangoon.

Q. Why would they be pleased?—A. Because the English have acted fairly towards them, committed no acts of extortion, and they can trust what they say.

Q. How long is it since you left Ava?—A. I left Ava twenty-five days ago, and have been here four days.

Q. Were you ever in the presence of his Majesty the King of Ava?—A. Before the war, I used to see his Majesty daily, and was a favourite with him. He used to play with me, knock my hat off, pull my hair, and jest with me. During the war, I never went near the palace, because I was afraid of being put in irons, like the Europeans and others.

Q. Did you ever hear the Burmans express regret for having entered into a war with the English?—A. Yes, very often. A person from the palace told me, that three months after the arrival of the English at Rangoon, he heard the King say, “He was in the predicament of a man who had got hold of a tiger by the tail, which it was neither safe to hold nor let go.”

Q. Who was the person who told you this?—A. John Christian, a Portuguese, a chief of the King’s artillery, who was in the habit of carrying his Majesty’s sword, and was always about his person.

(Signed)

JERONIMO DE CRUZ.

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Q. WHAT is your name, and of what country are you a native?—A. My name is \*\*\* \*\*\*\*\*† I am a native of \*\*\*\*\* in \*\*\*\*\*.

Q. When did you first come into the Burman dominions?—A. In the year 1822 of Christ.

Q. Have you ever quitted the country since your first arrival?—A. Never.

Q. Have you ever visited the capital of the Burman country?—A. I stayed forty days in Rangoon on my first arrival, when I proceeded to the Burman capital, where I continued until the termination of the war between the English and Burmese.

Q. What is your profession?—A. I am a merchant; and brought to this country English and Madras piece-goods, and English broad-cloth, to the amount of about 40,000 rupees.

Q. Were you acquainted with any of the Burman Princes or principal Officers of Government?—A. I was acquainted with them all, but never saw the King but once, when I presented a petition to him, which received no attention. He was proceeding at the time to a temporary palace which he had on the river-side.

Q. Do you understand the Burman language?—A. Very imperfectly.

Q. What other languages do you speak?—A. The Persian is my native tongue. I also speak Arabic, Hindustani, and the Telinga language. I resided sixteen years at Masulipatam, where I acquired the two latter languages.

Q. Through whom did you communicate with the native inhabitants?—A. I kept three linguists in my em-

† The name of this person is omitted, as he is believed to be still residing under the Burmese Government.



ployment, Mohammedans of the country, who spoke the Burman and Hindustani language.

Q. Do you know any particulars concerning the cause of the late war between the Burmans and the English?—

A. Yes; I have heard as follows. There was a desert island between Arracan and Chittagong: the English built a house upon it: the Burmans drove them away, killing one or two persons. The Governor-General wrote a letter to the King of Ava, complaining of the aggression, charging the Governor of Arracan with misconduct, and requesting he might be removed. The King was highly indignant at this letter. He gave orders to Bandula to proceed to the Chittagong frontier, saying, “That a number of his slaves had run away into the British dominions; that he, Bandula, must demand them, and that if he did not find them at Chittagong, he must proceed to Calcutta with his army, and take them by force.”

Q. From whom did you hear this?—A. It was the common talk of the town, about the end of 1823 or beginning of 1824.

Q. Did you hear that Bandula marched from Ava for Arracan with an army shortly after the time you have just alluded to?—A. Yes; I saw myself the army of Bandula quit Ava. It did not then exceed two thousand or three thousand men. I understood it was to be recruited on the way.

Q. Did you understand what was the destination of Bandula's army?—A. It was universally said that it was destined for the British frontier, with orders to demand the refugees in the first instance peaceably, and, if they were not surrendered, to follow up his demand even to Calcutta.

Q. Can you recollect in what month and year Bandula quitted Ava for Arracan?—A. I will consult a journal

which I have kept, and give you the exact period as nearly as I can.

Q. Did you hear what the army of Bandula did, after its march from Ava?—A. It arrived on the British frontier, fought a battle, and gained a victory, as it was said, over 2000 or 3000 British troops. Bandula sent accounts of this victory, with particulars, stating that he had killed great numbers, and that those who escaped alive were sent to his Majesty. Ten or fifteen days after this account, two or three hundred Sepoy prisoners arrived. The prisoners were brought before the King, who caused them to be interrogated. The report was, that they stated to his Majesty, that they had not fought, but had been seduced by a Pattan, who had come over into the British lines, and represented to them that such were the numbers of the Burman army, that it was useless to fight.

Q. Do you know who this Pattan was?—A. Yes; he is now at Ava, and I have spoken to him on the subject. I do not know his proper name, but he was commonly called Khan Sahib, and was taken prisoner by the Burmans at the conquest of Assam, being in the service of the Rajas of that country as a soldier.

Q. Previous to the commencement of the war, were the Burmans, according to your observation, desirous of continuing at peace with the English, or otherwise?—A. They were very anxious for war; otherwise, why collect an army? When people are desirous of peace and friendship, they use soft words, and not harsh language, as they were wont to do.

Q. Were they of opinion they could beat the English?—A. Certainly; the Burmans thought that all the world ought to be slaves to the King of Ava, and that it was presumption to contend with his armies.

Q. What was said by the Burmans at Ava, when news



reached that place of the arrival of the English at Rangoon?—A. I was told that it was considered fortunate news. The Ki Woonghee immediately called upon His Majesty, and said that a net should be thrown over the English, and not one should escape.

Q. When did they begin to alter their opinion on this subject?—A. After the retreat of Bandula from before Rangoon. From that time there was but one opinion that they could not contend with the English.

Q. Are the Burmans at present much afraid of the British troops?—A. Yes, of the European troops. They said, there was no withstanding a people who were not to be discouraged from advancing by death or by wounds. They also thought well of the Sepoys, but considered them inferior to the European troops.

Q. Have you ever heard that any of the Native Princes of Hindustan sent Vakils, or emissaries to the Court of Ava?—A. About two months before I reached Ava, ten or twelve Seiks arrived, declaring they were a mission from Runjeet Sing of Lahore. They said they had lost their letters and presents. No notice was taken of them by the Court until the commencement of the war with the English, when they were sent back with presents, and a letter to the Seik Raja, requesting that he would attack the English from the westward, while the Burmans attacked them from the eastward. These people departed by the route of Sylhet. I saw them two or three times, and am under a firm impression that they were impostors. Some time before my arrival in Ava, some Mahomedans of Hindustan came there, declaring they were Envoys either from the Nabob of Bengal or Oude, I forget which. They were certainly impostors, and the Court considering them so, imprisoned them. One of the individuals in question, a Moonshee, is still in Ava, having settled in the country.

Q. Have you ever heard that the King of Ava, since the commencement of the war, sent an embassy to China, craving assistance against the English?—A. I have heard some say that a mission was sent, and others that it was not: I know nothing certain on this subject.

Q. Are you aware whether the Burman Government experienced much difficulty latterly in recruiting its armies?—A. Yes, the utmost difficulty. It was almost impossible to assemble five hundred or one thousand men, and when they were got together, they were rogues and vagabonds, picked up about the streets of Ava. The King heard that the English paid their troops monthly, and considered that this was the reason why they fought so well. Latterly a bounty of one hundred and one hundred and fifty ticals was given, but few troops obtained. The soldiers purchased fine cloths, eat opium and ganja, but at the first sight of the European troops ran off.

Q. What is your opinion of the Burmans as a people?—A. They are stupid and uncivilized: among the courtiers there is not to be found one man of common understanding.

Q. Were you imprisoned by the Burman Government during your residence in Ava?—A. Yes.

Q. Who was imprisoned along with you?—A. Five Persians, a Turk, a Jew of Constantinople, and four Natives of Hindustan.

Q. Why were you and your companions imprisoned?—A. For the purpose of extorting money from us, because it was stated we were subjects of the British Government.

Q. What reason had they for considering you a British subject?—A. They said I had a fair skin and a red beard, and therefore must be related to the English.

Q. How long were you in confinement?—A. Eight days.

Q. What treatment did you receive when in prison?—



A. Six of us were put into the stocks, and eight tortured, to extort a confession.

Q. Was your property taken from you?—A. Yes.

Q. By whose orders were you imprisoned?—A. By those of a chief called the Pakanwun, who was afterwards put to death by the King, upon which occasion we were liberated.

Q. How long is it since you were imprisoned?—A. About eleven months ago.

Q. Was your property restored to you?—A. A small part of it was, but the greater portion was plundered by the officers of Government and therefore lost.

(Signed)

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#### JOHN BARRETTO.

Q. WHAT is your name, and of what country are you a native?—A. My name is John Barretto, and I am a native of Rangoon.

Q. Was your father also a native of Rangoon?—A. No; my father was a native of Holland, and by profession a surgeon. He was taken prisoner by the Burmans in Siam, along with my mother, a native of that country, and they were brought to Rangoon.

Q. Where did you learn the English language?—A. My father sent me to Madras for education, where I continued eight or nine years, having been employed as a clerk in the Custom House for three years.

Q. When did you return to Rangoon?—A. About twenty-two years ago.

Q. Have you resided in the Burman country ever since?—A. No; I have visited Bengal, Madras, and Penang, in command of ships, and was once absent about two years.

Q. Do you understand the Burman language?—A. I speak and read it correctly, but cannot write it fluently.

Q. Have you ever been in Ava or Amarapura?—A. I have visited both several times, and resided at the capital occasionally, from one to four months at a time.

Q. How have you been lately employed?—A. I was employed in conveying goods to and from Ava, as the agent of English merchants.

Q. How have you been employed since the commencement of the war between the Burmans and English?—A. When news reached the Court of the arrival of the English at Rangoon, the Prince of Sarawadi, brother to the King, was ordered down to Donabew, and directed me to accompany him as an interpreter.

Q. Where were you when the war broke out, and some time before?—A. I was at Ava when the war broke out, and for five months before.

Q. Were you acquainted with any of the principal officers of the Burman Government?—A. I was not acquainted with any of the principal officers, except the Prince of Sarawadi.

Q. Had you any means of becoming acquainted with the sentiments of the Burman Government respecting a war with the British?—A. No; no particular means.

Q. Did you hear that Maha Bandula had marched with an army toward Arracan?—A. Yes, I heard so. The army had left Ava before my arrival there. The Bandula's army was at Sembeguen, as I went up the river, and at a distance I saw their huts and flags.

Q. Did you hear where the Bandula's army intended to march?—A. I merely heard that the army was to march to Arracan.

Q. Did you afterwards hear any thing of the operations of this army?—A. Yes; I heard that it beat the English at a place called Pangwa, and took it from them.

Q. Did you ever hear the Prince of Sarawadi express



his sentiments respecting the war with the English?—

A. Yes; I have often heard the Prince say, that it was impossible for the Burmans to cope with the English, because they made such very “*rough* war.”

Q. Was the Prince ever personally engaged with the British troops?—A. No, never. When the British army was at Rangoon, the Prince was at Donabew. He had been commander-in-chief of the army, and was superseded by Maha Bandula.

Q. Was there any personal intercourse between the Prince and Maha Bandula at Donabew?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you know what passed upon this occasion?—A. Yes; the Prince said to him, “Take care what you are going to be about; the Kulas, or strangers, whom you will meet at Rangoon, are very different from the Kulas you met on the Western frontier.” Bandula replied, “In eight days I will take my dinner in the Rungdau, or public hall, of Rangoon, and afterwards return thanks at the Shwedagong Pagoda.” The Prince answered, “In a few days I shall hear of your running away, for you have a very rough people to deal with.”

Q. Did you hear all this yourself, or were you told of it by others?—A. I was not present during the conversation, but was told what took place the same day by those about the person of the Prince.

Q. What did the Prince say when he heard of the defeat of Bandula?—A. When he heard of this event, he was at a small island immediately above Donabew. I was present when the news came; the Prince clapped his hands and laughed heartily; his courtiers also laughed. The Prince observed, “I told Bandula how it would be, but he would not take my advice, saying, it was an easy matter to beat the Kulas.”

Q. Were any prisoners of the British army brought

to the Prince?—*A.* Yes; four Europeans, one Sepoy, and ten or twelve ship Lascars.

*Q.* How did the Prince treat his prisoners?—*A.* They were put in one pair of chains each,—questioned, and had plenty of food given to them. The Europeans were sent to Ava, and the natives taken out of chains and kept.

*Q.* What opinion did the Burmese in general entertain of the British troops?—*A.* They did not think any thing of the Sepoys, but thought the Europeans very brave and strong. They said the Sepoys fired over their heads, and often waved to them to go away. The Europeans fired, they said, directly at their bodies. They were very much afraid of the Europeans, but not of the Sepoys. They said that the Sepoys were friendly to them, and good men.

*Q.* Do you know what opinion the Burmans in general entertained of the British power in India before the war?—*A.* They all thought they could beat the English, and often talked of invading Bengal, chiefly on account of the plunder they would get.

*Q.* What do the Burmans now think of the British power?—*A.* About a month ago, when I parted with the Prince of Sarawadi, I heard him say to an officer belonging to the King, “The Burmans and English formerly thought nothing of each other; now the English have shown their pride, and the Burmans will not play with them hereafter.”

*Q.* Have you heard what it was that gave rise to the war between the English and Burmese?—*A.* I have heard that the Burmans were much offended because the English would not deliver up two chiefs of Munnipore, called Maha Raja and Duma Raja.

*Q.* Have you heard that the Burmans were anxious to try their strength with the English?—*A.* I heard, a



year before the commencement of the war, that unless the English delivered up the two chiefs, whom I have just mentioned, the Burmans were determined to go to war with them.

Q. From whom did you hear this?—A. It was a thing of current belief in Ava.

Q. Did you ever hear the Prince of Sarawadi express his opinion on this subject?—A. No; I never did.

Q. What opinion do the lower orders of Burmans and Talains entertain of the English Government?—A. They are well pleased with the treatment they have received, and would be glad if the English took the country. This opinion prevails all the way to Ava.

Q. Did you ever hear any regret expressed on the part of the Burmans for the war with the English?—A. Yes; it was a subject of general regret.

(Signed)

J. BARRETTO.

#### MR. HENRY GOUGER.

Q. WHAT is your name, and of what country are you a native?—A. My name is Henry Gouger, I am a native of London.

Q. How long have you resided in the Burman dominions?—A. I arrived at Rangoon in the year 1822,—to the best of my recollection, in the month of June. I have resided in the Burman dominions ever since, with the exception of two short visits to Calcutta, of about two months each.

Q. How have you been employed during your residence in the Burman dominions?—A. As a merchant and agent.

Q. Did you reside any time at the Burman capital?—A. Yes; in all about two years and a half, including my period of imprisonment (twenty months).

Q. Had you during that time any intercourse with the

members of the Royal family, or any of the principal officers of the Government?—*A.* Yes; I had considerable intercourse.

*Q.* Who were the individuals of rank with whom you had most intercourse?—*A.* His Majesty the King, the Prince of Sarawadi his brother, and several of the Woon-ghees and Attawuns.

*Q.* How long were you in Ava before the late war between the British and the Burmese broke out?—*A.* About seven months before the capture of Rangoon by the British.

*Q.* During that period, did you observe any hostile preparations making by the Burman Government?—*A.* Yes; I saw troops levied and sent off in various directions.

*Q.* Do you know against what object the march of these troops was directed?—*A.* Three armies marched from Ava during the time I have alluded to, viz. one under Bandula, one under the Saya Woonghee, and one under Moungh-Kayo. Bandula's army marched towards Bengal, *via* Arracan, to make, as I was informed, certain claims upon the British Government. The object held in view by the march of the other two armies was not known to me at the time; there were various rumours on the subject.

*Q.* Do you recollect in what month the army of Bandula marched from the capital?—*A.* Yes; on the first day of January, 1824: it is in my recollection, because it was new year's day.

*Q.* Do you know where the army of Bandula rendezvoused?—*A.* I believe at Sembeguen. I was told his headquarters were there for a considerable length of time.

*Q.* Do you know what claims Bandula was authorized to make upon the British?—*A.* I was told they were the following: first, to demand the refugee Princes who had fled into the British dominions; second, to demand all the natives of Arracan who had settled within the British



boundary ; and third, to demand certain British provinces as far as Moorshedabad.

Q. From whom did you receive this information ?—A. The two first claims were the subjects of such general conversation, that at this distance of time I cannot recollect where I received my information. I was told of the third by a person very high in rank, but whose name, from prudential motives, I wish to decline stating.

Q. Upon what occasion did the person of rank in question communicate this intelligence, and what was the language in which it was conveyed ?—A. It was mentioned to me during a visit I paid to him at his house. The intention, as it appeared to me, was to impress me with a high idea of the superiority of the Burmans over the British.

Q. On what pretext did the Burmans lay claim to the territories east of Moorshedabad ?—A. They claimed them as having formerly belonged to the kingdom of Arracan.

Q. Did you hear what became of the army of Bandula, which marched, as you have stated, towards Bengal ?—A. I heard of their passing the British frontier, and capturing Panwa.

Q. Did you hear of the affair at Ramoo ?—A. I heard of the affair during my imprisonment.

Q. In what terms was it mentioned to you ?—A. It was called by the Burmans a glorious victory gained by Bandula.

Q. During your residence at the Court, have you ever observed any disposition on the part of the officers of the Government to enter into war with the British ?—A. Yes ; I have frequently heard such sentiments expressed by several officers under Government, particularly by the late Saya Woonghee.

Q. Do you recollect any particular occasion on which this officer expressed his sentiments on the subject ?—A

Yes, one occasion particularly, when I took to him a Calcutta newspaper, containing a conciliatory paragraph, respecting the dispute concerning the Island of Shaparee, or Shemabero.

Q. What did he say upon the subject?—A. At the time alluded to, I was not well versed in the Burman language, but what was said by the Saya Woonghee was afterwards explained to me by an European gentleman who accompanied me, and who understood it perfectly. The expressions he used were to this effect, as far as my memory serves me: that the newspaper paragraph alluded to, was a proof of the timidity of the English; that he was of opinion that the Burmans were superior to the British in military prowess; and that unless every demand made upon the latter was yielded, war would certainly ensue.

Q. Do you know what became of the army of the Saya Woonghee, to which, in a former part of your deposition, you have alluded?—A. The army, as I was informed, marched to Cassay, where it suffered dreadfully from sickness. The Saya Woonghee himself, an old man, fell a sacrifice to the climate: on his death the command devolved on his Chekao Moungyit, an Attawun, and shortly afterwards dispersed. A small part of it returned to Ava, under his command, and, as I was informed, without having seen the face of an enemy.

Q. What, according to your opinion, led to the late war between the British and Burman Governments?—A. In my opinion, it may be attributed primarily to a desire, on the part of the Burman Court, to try its strength with the British. The counsels of Bandula, on his return from the conquest of Assam to the capital, about the month of December, 1822, hastened the event; and I believe it is chiefly owing to his advice that the war was so soon determined upon.



Q. What opinion did the Burman Court entertain of the military character of the British nation and power in India previous to the war?—A. The Burmese had no idea either of our numbers or strength. When I mentioned the amount of our military force, they would never believe me. They, in fact, thought themselves in war the most courageous and cunning people in the world; they frequently talked of their skill in stratagem. They ridiculed the idea of soldiers advancing to battle with the noise of drums and music, and exposing their whole bodies.

Q. Did you hear what was thought at Court when the news arrived of the capture of Rangoon?—A. The Burmans thought that the British had fallen at length into a snare, and that they were a sure prey. They were only afraid the marauders would escape before their armies could reach Rangoon. Throughout the town of Ava there was nothing but rejoicing at the event. I was told that the King said the arms which the English brought would be useful in his meditated conquest of Siam.

Q. Have you understood that any of the Asiatic strangers residing in Ava were instrumental in exciting the Burmans to a war with the British?—A. I can, from my own experience, produce no instance of their actually exciting the Burman Court to war; but of their hostile feelings towards us I have had repeated examples, and have but little doubt that, as far as their influence at Court extended, it was exerted to the prejudice of British interests.

Q. Are there many Brahmins residing at the Court of Ava?—A. Yes, a great many.

Q. Did you ever hear any person connected with the Government complain of any specific act of aggression on the part of the British?—A. Yes; I have heard the occupation of Shapuree imputed to us as an act of aggression.

Q. By whom did you hear this stated?—A. By several members of the Lotoo: at the time of translating the paragraph of the newspaper before alluded to; and shortly after my arrival in Ava, the King one day desired me, when I was in his presence, to furnish him with the particulars of this affair. This, from my want of the requisite information, I had it not in my power to comply with.

Q. Are you of opinion that the late war might have been avoided on the part of the British Government by negotiation?—A. I am distinctly of opinion, that the war could not have been avoided on the part of the British Government, except by concessions discreditable to its character, and injurious to its interests.

Q. What concessions do you conceive would have satisfied the Burman Government?—A. I am of opinion, that yielding to all the claims I have before stated, would have satisfied the Burman Government, at least for the time; viz. the surrender of the fugitive Princes, the restoration of the refugees from Arracan, and the cession of the provinces Eastward of Moorshedabad.

Q. What opinion did the Burmese entertain of the British Sepoys previous to the war, and during the progress of hostilities?—A. I do not believe that they knew much about the Sepoys previous to the war; but during its progress, and down to the last moment, every one whom I have heard speak on the subject, expressed the greatest contempt of the Native troops, and affirmed, that were it not for the courage of the Europeans, it would be an easy matter to drive the British army out of the country.

Q. By whom did you hear these opinions expressed?—A. By many, but chiefly by those who had returned from the war, and had been engaged with them.

Q. What opinion did the Burmans entertain of the British troops during the progress of the war?—A. They



acknowledged their own inferiority to the European troops, and openly confessed that they could not withstand them. They were most astonished at the impossibility of breaking their line, or arresting their advance in action.

Q. Did the moderation of the British towards their prisoners produce a favourable effect on the minds of the Burmans?—A. It had no effect on the Government that I am aware of, but it was a subject of general discourse and a theme of admiration among the common people.

Q. What, in your opinion, prevented the Burmans from negotiating during the war, when overtures of peace were made to them?—A. Chiefly the pride of the Court, which would not allow it to make concessions. Down to a very late period, they were of opinion that no other overtures than those of perfect reciprocity would be tendered to them; besides this, they never believed that our proposals could be sincere. To the very last moment; indeed, on the very day of my departure, I was asked by one of the Woondocks, whether the British would not take the cash tendered, and afterwards march upon the capital.

Q. Do you consider the character of the Burman Government to be faithless?—A. Very faithless indeed; the Burmans pride themselves upon this character.

Q. Are you of opinion, from what you know of the Burman Court, that the present peace will be lasting?—A. Yes; I am of opinion it will be lasting: as much will depend on the conduct of the British as of the Burmans in this matter.

Q. What course of conduct, on the part of the British Government, do you consider most likely to conduce to the maintenance of peace?—A. A strict observance of the treaty, and the maintenance of a political resident at the Court of Ava.

Q. In what manner do you consider that the residence

of a political agent will tend to this object?—*A.* In many ways. The Burman Court is fickle and capricious, and easily acted upon by intriguers. A British agent, therefore, will have it in his power to counteract the bad effects of machinations and evil counsels; besides, he will have it in his power to explain satisfactorily many little disputes and misapprehensions which might arise, and which might be followed by serious consequences, if not early adjusted.

*Q.* Do you conceive that the presence of a British agent at the Court of Ava will be useful towards the protection of our commerce?—*A.* Yes; most certainly. Heretofore, British merchants residing at Rangoon have possessed no means of getting their grievances redressed, except by personally repairing to the Court, at an enormous loss of time and money. Over the Viceroy of Rangoon there was no control whatever, and they could proceed to acts of oppression which they would not dare to venture upon, were a British agent residing at the Court, who could make known to their Government any acts of injustice committed on the persons or properties of British subjects.

*Q.* Do you consider that the presence of a consul, or other British agent, at Rangoon, is necessary or likely to be useful?—*A.* Yes; I conceive such an appointment would be very useful.

*Q.* Have you had extensive means of gaining information respecting the trade of the Burman dominions?—*A.* Yes, I have.

*Q.* In what branch of the trade were you chiefly engaged?—*A.* I imported British cotton-goods, and made returns to Calcutta chiefly in timber.

*Q.* What quantity of British piece-goods did you sell from your first arrival in the Burman dominions, in June, 1822, until the breaking out of the war?—*A.* I sold, to the



best of my recollection, to the value of about two hundred and twenty thousand ticals of flowered silver, equal to about two hundred and seventy-five thousand sicca rupees.

Q. What quantity of teak timber did you export during the same period?—A. I exported teak timber, in all, to the extent of about five thousand four hundred tons. Of this, one or two cargoes were sent to Bombay, one to Java, and all the rest to Calcutta.

Q. What other articles did you export besides teak?—A. Chinese hurtal, or orpiment, Chinese raw silk, stick-lac, terra-japonica, and horses.

Q. Are you of opinion that the trade of piece-goods in the Burman dominions is capable of much extension?—A. Yes; very great extension.

Q. Do you know any thing regarding the inland trade carried on between the Burman dominions and China?—A. Yes; I made inquiry into the nature of it, and several times visited the Chinese camp or fair at Maday, which is distant about twelve miles from Ava, in a north-easterly direction.

Q. What articles do the Chinese import, and what do they export?—A. Their importations consist of silk, hurtal, vermillion, gold, copper, quicksilver, Chinese spirits, tea, hams, dry and a few fresh fruits, fans, umbrellas, shoes, and sundry wearing articles. They export little else than cotton.

Q. Is the importation of silk considerable?—A. It forms by far the largest article of import, and is very considerable. Upon inquiry at the Custom House of Maday, I learned there were two thousand seven hundred bundles of silk, which, at the rate of a tithe, had been collected as duties. This, supposing it, as I believe it was, one year's collection, would make the imports twenty-seven thousand

bundles, each bundle worth, at an average, about thirty ticals of flowered silver.

Q. Is the price reasonable, and the quality good?—A. The quality is generally coarse, but the thread is round and even. It is dirty from long land-carriage, and not well crossed on the reel; it is likewise generally cased; I sent some of it to England, but have not yet received account sales.

Q. What description of tea is generally imported by the Chinese?—A. It is made up in cakes, and is of various qualities; I used to drink some of the best and found it very palatable. It is all black tea, and bears no resemblance to the varieties exported from Canton. The result of my inquiries is, that this tea is not the produce of China, but of the Shan country, or Lao; the Burmans always informed me this was the case.

Q. Can you state the prices of this tea?—A. I cannot exactly recollect, but it is very cheap.

Q. Do you think it would answer for the European markets?—A. The taste is peculiar, and I think would not, at first at least, suit the European market. Its cheapness, however, would be a great recommendation to it.

Q. What is the quality and quantity of the cotton exported by the Chinese?—A. In quality, the cotton is short in the staple, but fine and silky. This was the character given in the Bengal market to some musters which I carried round to Calcutta. Considerable quantities are taken to our province of Dacca yearly by Burman boats, where, I understand, it fetches a higher price than ordinary Bengal cottons. Respecting the quantity, my inquiries lead me to think that it does not exceed twenty thousand bales yearly, each bale of one hundred viss, or three hundred and sixty-five pounds: this cotton is always cleaned from the seed.



Q. Do you know what is the usual price of this cotton ?  
—A. Between fifty and sixty ticals of flowered silver per hundred viss, or from seventeen to eighteen sicca rupees per maund.

Q. Have you any idea of the general amount in value of the whole Chinese trade ?—A. Nothing beyond what can be collected from the amount of the silk and cotton, which are the principal articles of importation and exportation.

Q. What number of Chinese do you suppose compose the yearly caravan ?—A. In my opinion, the number of Chinese is very small ; I should think some few hundreds ; as far as I can recollect, one man to about thirty horses or mules, both of which are numerous.

(Signed) H. GOUGER.

## No. XI.

Note to page 275.

THE term used by the Budd'hists to express the highest state of felicity after death, and which is corrupted by the Burmese into " nibban," and by the Siamese into " nirpan," is, in the original Sanscrit, correctly written nirváná. The Christian Missionaries, and other popular writers, have incorrectly translated it " annihilation;" an expression which throws an unmerited share of obloquy on the worship of Budd'ha. Mr. Colebrooke, in an acute and learned dissertation on the Philosophy of Indian Sectaries, has, for the first time, given its true explanation in the following passages:—" But the term which the Baudd'has, as well as Jainas, more particularly affect, and which, however, is also used by the rest, is nirváná, profound calm. In its ordinary acceptation as an adjective, it signifies extinct,

as a fire which is gone out ; set, as a luminary which has gone down ; defunct, as a saint who has passed away : its etymology is from *va*, to blow as wind, with the preposition *nir* used in a negative sense : it means calm and unruffled. The notion which is attached to the word, in the acceptance now under consideration, is that of perfect apathy. It is a condition of unmixed tranquil happiness or ecstasy (*ananda*). Other terms distinguish different gradations of pleasure, joy, and delight. But a happy state of imperturbable apathy is the ultimate bliss to which the Indian aspires : in this the Jaina, as well as the Baudd'ha, concurs with the orthodox vendantin.

“ Perpetual uninterrupted apathy can hardly be said to differ from eternal sleep. The notion of it, as of a happy condition, seems to be derived from the experience of ecstasies, or from that of profound sleep, from which a person awakes refreshed. The pleasant feeling is referred back to the period of actual repose.”

Colebrooke on the Philosophy of Indian Sectaries, Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. i. 566.

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## No. XII.

### EXPLANATION OF THE SOUNDS OF THE BURMAN ALPHABET IN ROMAN LETTERS.

THE Burman alphabet follows the arrangement of the Deva-nagari. It reckons twelve vowels and thirty-three consonant characters. The first six vowels correspond exactly with the first six of the Sanscrit alphabet, and represented in Roman letters, according to the orthography of Sir William Jones, are as follow : a, á, i, í, u, ú. The seventh vowel corresponds with the eleventh Deva-nagari,



and is represented by e. The eighth vowel is intended to correspond with the diphthong *ai* of the Deva-nagari alphabet, but, in truth, is a simple vowel, expressing a very different sound, and which will be found in the English word *hair*. Although a simple vowel, I can find no better substitute for it than *ai*, and accordingly have written it so. The characters corresponding in the Burman alphabet to what are called in the Sanscrit the diphthongs *o* and *au*, are simple vowels, of which the second is but the long sound of the first. They are found respectively in the English words *paucity* and *audience*. Another vowel, not enumerated as such by the Burmans, is of not unfrequent occurrence. This corresponds with the sound of *o* in *note*. In writing, it is a compound character, formed from the vowels *a*, *i*, and *u*. A twelfth vowel sound, corresponding with the short sound of *e* in *pen*, is of frequent occurrence, though not written. The true diphthong sounds in the Burman language are the combination of the Roman vowels *ai* and *au*, according to Sir William Jones's orthography.

The first, or guttural class of consonants corresponds exactly with that of the Deva-nagari, viz. *k*, *k'h*, *g*, *g'h*, *n*. These would be pronounced nearly the same by a Burman and a Hindu. Most of the letters of the second, or palatal class, however, are pronounced very differently. The *ch* and its aspirate have a pronunciation approaching to *s*. The *j* and its aspirate approach nearer to the sound of *z*. The Burmans, in pronunciation, make no distinction between the cerebral and dental classes of consonants, pronouncing them both as dentals, and writing the former in words derived from the Sanscrit only. The labials correspond exactly with the same series in the Sanscrit. The greatest deviation from the Hindu pronunciation exists in the liquids and sibilants. *R*, although frequently used in writing, is almost invariably pronounced as *y*. *S* is

invariably pronounced as the common th of English orthography; thus the Sanscrit word desa is always pronounced in Burman detha. The Deva-nagari sibilant, corresponding to the English sound of sh, has no existence in the Burman alphabet. The aspirate differs in no respect from that of the Deva-nagari. The last letter of the Burman alphabet corresponds with the Welsh l of the Sanscrit. It is seldom written, and when it is, its pronunciation differs in no respect from that of the common liquid.

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### No. XIII.

*Geological Account of a Series of Animal and Vegetable Remains and of Rocks, collected by J. Crawfurd, Esq. on a Voyage up the Irawadi to Ava, in 1826 and 1827. By the Rev. William Buckland, D.D. F.G.S. F.R.S. F.L.S. Professor of Mineralogy and Geology in the University of Oxford. (From the Transactions of the Geological Society.)*

FOR the specimens and notes which form the subject of the present communication, the Society is indebted to the zeal and activity of J. Crawfurd, Esq. one of its Fellows, who having occasion to traverse the Burmese Country, on an embassy to Ava, in the years 1826 and 1827, discovered an extensive deposit of organic remains in that unknown and distant region. He has brought home specimens of these remains, both animal and vegetable, as well as of the strata in which they were found, and has with much judgment and liberality presented them to the Geological Society of London, and to several other scientific Societies. It is on an examination of these specimens, and of the notes contained in Mr. Crawfurd's daily journal, that the obser-



vations and descriptions that make up the present memoir are founded.

Before I proceed to the details of this interesting subject, it may not be amiss to refer to the state of our knowledge, or rather ignorance, of the geology of these regions, antecedently to the discoveries of Mr. Crawford; an ignorance which our frequent and extensive intercourse with India has but recently and in a very slight degree tended to dispel; since, with the exception of two Memoirs in the Geological Transactions, \*—the one a paper by Mr. Colebrooke on the North-east border of Bengal, the other a description of a collection of specimens made by Mr. Fraser, on a journey from Delhi to Bombay; and of two brief notices in the same volume,—no description of the secondary, tertiary, or diluvial formations of central and southern Asia, as compared with the similar formations of Europe, has been given to the public.

In the year 1823, in the following passage of my *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, † I quoted the opinion of Mr. Weaver on the importance of instituting a comparison between the organic remains which might be discovered in the diluvium of tropical countries, and the similar remains found in the diluvium of the temperate and frigid zones of the northern hemisphere:—

“ Another interesting branch of enquiry is, whether any fossil remains of elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus and hyæna, exist in the diluvium of tropical climates; and if they do, whether they agree with the recent species of these genera, or with those extinct species whose remains are dispersed so largely over the temperate and frigid zones of the northern hemisphere.”

It could scarcely have been anticipated, that within so

\* Vol. I. Part 1. New Series.

† P. 170.

short a period as has elapsed since the date of this publication, the zealous investigations of a single individual should have gone so far as those of Mr. Crawford have done, to supply an answer to the questions then proposed.

The evidence which Mr. Crawford has imported, is derived from no less than seven large chests full of fossil wood and fossil bones, and of specimens of the strata that are found along the course of the Irawadi, from its mouth near Rangoon up to Ava, being a distance of nearly five hundred miles.

The larger portion of the fossil wood is beautifully silicified, and displays most delicately the structure and fibres of the living plants: in other specimens of it this structure is more obscure, though sufficient to show that the trees in which it exists were dicotyledonous. This obscurity arises from the fact of most of these dicotyledonous plants being impregnated with carbonate of lime, whilst all the monocotyledonous stems are silicified, as are also a few of the dicotyledonous: in these latter also the vegetable structure is more distinct than in the calcareous fossils, and in some of them it much resembles that of the tamarind wood. These plants were found most abundantly in the same region with the fossil bones, but occur also along nearly the whole course of the Irawadi from Ava to Prome. They were principally collected from a tract of country extending over a square of more than twenty miles on the east bank of the Irawadi, near the town of Wetmasut, about half-way between Ava and Prome, between lat.  $20^{\circ}$  and  $21^{\circ}$  N. The occurrence of bones was most abundant in a small space near the centre of this district, occupying about one-third of the above-named area, the surface of which is composed chiefly of barren sand hills mixed with gravel; beneath these are strata containing shells and lig-



nite, through which they sink wells about two hundred feet to collect petroleum.

In examining the bones, I have had the advantage of the co-operation of Mr. Clift, to whose anatomical description I beg to refer my readers. And though we are still without proof as to the existence of fossil elephants in Asia, there being no remains of these animals in the collection now before us; we have bones and teeth of the *Pachydermata* which are usually associated with them in Europe, America, and Siberia; viz. of rhinoceros, hippopotamus, mastodon, tapir, and hog; also several species of *Ruminantia*, resembling oxen, antelopes or deer; with the addition of the gavial and alligator, and species of the two genera of fresh-water tortoises, viz. *Trionyx* and *Emys*.

The occurrence of such reptiles in the same deposits with the *Mammalia*, has, I believe, not yet been noticed in the diluvium of Europe, America, or Northern Asia; and it deserves remark, that the gavial, and several of the *Pachydermata* found by Mr. Crawford, do not now inhabit the Burmese Country; for the gavial is now limited almost exclusively to the waters of the Ganges and its confluents; the hippopotamus exists no where but in the rivers and lakes of Africa; and the mastodon is utterly extinct. There is, however, no greater anomaly in supposing that all these animals inhabited the Burmese Country at the period preceding the deluge which overwhelmed it, than that at the period preceding the similar catastrophe which befel the North of Europe, the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus and hyæna were co-inhabitants of England,—a point which in another work\* I have endeavoured to establish from the evidence of the bones found at Kirkdale and in other caverns.

\* *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ.*

Judging from the number and proportion of bones in the collection made by Mr. Crawford, the most abundant fossil animal in the valley of the Irawadi is the mastodon, then the crocodile and tortoise, and lastly the rhinoceros and deer. Of the hippopotamus, parts only of two jaws have been yet identified; and of the tapir and hog, one fragment only of a lower jaw. It is not however possible to deduce any certain conclusions as to the relative abundance of these animals, from the proportion of bones in any single collection.

The following may be given as a rude approximation to the numerical proportion of bones and fragments of bones we have now before us.

	No. of bones.
Mastodon .....	150
Rhinoceros .....	10
Hippopotamus .....	2
Tapir .....	1
Hog .....	1
Ox, Deer, and Antelope .....	20
Gavial and Alligator .....	50
Emys .....	20
Trionyx .....	10

At the head of this list stand the remains of the genus *Mastodon*, not only because they so much exceed in numbers the aggregate of all the rest, but because they establish the fact, that at least two species of these gigantic animals were among the antediluvian inhabitants of the southern parts of Asia, and because they add, to the six species of this extinct genus already ascertained by Cuvier, two new and strongly characterized species, one of which, from its approximation to the elephant in the structure of the teeth, Mr. Clift proposes to designate by the name of



*Mastodon elephantoides*: to the other he has given the name of *Mastodon latidens*.

In the collection before us, there must be fragments of at least a dozen skeletons of mastodons, many of them equal in size to the bones of the largest modern elephant, and some exceeding them; the fragments of femur and tibia equal those of the largest fossil elephant, whilst in another specimen we have the milk-tooth of a sucking mastodon. In other specimens of the teeth we observe various stages of advancement from youth to extreme age.

Of the ivory tusks of this animal, there are many small but decided fragments, of one of which a section is given showing the intersecting curved lines, like the engine-turning on a watch, by which the ivory of the elephant's tusk also is characterized.

Of Ruminantia we have evidence to establish at least three species; viz. three different sized condyles of the femur of three full-grown animals; also teeth of at least two species of ox or deer or antelope; and fragments of the solid bony base or core of three horns of antelopes; and two different tibiæ, with two different scapulæ of full grown Ruminantia.

The bones of gavia in this collection afford, like the hippopotamus, another example of the occurrence of fossil animals in a different locality from their recent analogues. Mr. Clift considers this species to resemble the existing gavials of the Ganges; but the frequent discoveries of fossil gavials in tertiary strata, and even in secondary strata, down to the lias, show, that in an earlier and different state of our planet, this genus also has been dispersed abundantly and widely over its surface.

The specimens of alligators' bones also are scarcely sufficient to allow Mr. Clift to pronounce decisively as to their identity with existing species. From the magnitude

of the fragments, their size must occasionally have been very great.

The fossil emys and trionyx of Ava we can scarcely identify, from our imperfect fragments, either with species that now inhabit the rivers of that country, or with the fossil tortoises which extend through nearly all tertiary and secondary strata; occurring in the tertiary sand-rock of Brussels, and in our London and plastic clay, in our Hastings-sand and Purbeck limestone, as well as in the Kimmeridge clay and Stonesfield oolite, in the lias of Glostershire, and transition slate of Glarus. In the modern rivers of India there are tortoises which attain a considerable size, and are cherished and fed by the natives.

It cannot but occur to us in this stage of our enquiry as remarkable, that not one fragment is found in all this collection, either of the elephant, tiger, or hyæna, which now abound so much in India; whilst the mastodon, whose living analogue exists not upon earth, must probably at one time have swarmed in the districts bordering on the Irawadi. The same analogy which emboldened me, in my first paper on the Cave of Kirkdale, to anticipate the discovery which was speedily made of hyænas' bones in the diluvium of England, arguing on the fact of their existence in the diluvium of the European continent, at the present moment encourages me also to anticipate the future discovery of the elephant, tiger, and hyæna in the diluvium of Asia. I would also argue, on the same grounds, that it is highly probable we shall hereafter find the mastodon in our own diluvium and most recent tertiary strata.

The state of preservation of all these bones from Ava is remarkably perfect, from the circumstance of their being almost entirely penetrated with hydrate of iron, to a degree that has converted many of them to a rich mass of iron ore, and has given them a hardness which caused them, at first,



to be considered as silicified ; and they have been erroneously so described in some printed notices on this subject in the Calcutta Gazette, March 21st, 1827, and in other publications. Such, however, is not the case with any specimen I have seen in the whole collection ; the cancelli of the bones are filled either with hydrate of iron or carbonate of lime, and their weight and strength thereby increased, but no other kind of change or injury to their external form has been produced.

It is, in fact, to the strength and indestructibility resulting from the mineral impregnation above-mentioned, that we owe the discovery of these remains on the shores of the Irawadi. An accident that delayed for some days the steam-boat in which Mr. Crawford was descending this river, allowed him to land, accompanied by Dr. Wallich, and to investigate the structure of the country for some miles on the north-east of Wetmasut. The accident arose from the shallowness of the water, when the steam-boat was descending, which, fortunately for geology, caused it to run aground near the wells of petroleum, where the left bank of the river presents a cliff of several miles in length, generally perpendicular, and not exceeding eighty feet in height. At the bottom of this cliff the strand was dry, and on it were found specimens of petrified wood and bones, that had probably fallen from the cliff in the course of its decay ; but no bone was discovered in the cliff itself by Mr. Crawford and Dr. Wallich ; nor were they more fortunate in several places where they dug in search of bones in the adjacent district. This district is composed of sand-hills that are very sterile, and is intersected by deep ravines : among the sand are beds of gravel, often cemented to a breccia by iron or carbonate of lime ; and scattered over its surface at distant and irregular intervals,

were found many fragments of bone and mineralized wood, in some instances lying entirely loose upon the sand, in other cases half buried in it, with their upper portions projecting, naked, and exposed to the air: they appeared to have been left in this condition, in consequence of the matrix of sand and gravel that once covered them undergoing daily removal by the agency of winds and rains, and they would speedily have fallen to pieces under this exposure to atmospheric action, had they not been protected by the mineralization they have undergone.

On examining many of the ravines that intersect this part of the country, and which were at this time dry, the same silicified wood was found projecting from the sand-banks, and ready to drop into the streams; from the bottoms of which the travellers took many fragments, that had so fallen during the gradual wearing of the bank, and lay rolled and exposed to friction by the passing waters. Some of these stems were from fifteen to twenty feet in length, and five feet in circumference. These circumstances show, that the ordinary effect of existing rains and torrents is not only to expose and lay bare these organic remains, but wash them out from the matrix to which some other and more powerful agency must have introduced them.

Of the total number of bones in this collection, about one-third have suffered from friction; and of the remainder, nearly all appear to have been broken, more or less, before they were lodged in the places where Mr. Crawford found them irregularly dispersed. Many fragments also of the ivory have been rolled considerably; but no one specimen of that substance, or indeed of any bone in this collection, has been reduced to the state of a perfect pebble: from this circumstance we may infer, that the waters



which produced the rolling they have undergone, were not in violent action during any very protracted period of time.

Many of the larger bones, and some of the small ones, have masses of stone adhering to them, which afford specimens of the matrix in which they were imbedded; these are composed of small round grains and pebbles of white quartz, and various quartzose and jasper pebbles, strongly united together by a cement of carbonate of lime, and sometimes by hydrate of iron: where this iron is very abundant, it affords concentric ochereous concretions, resembling Aetites, dispersed irregularly through the breccia. The masses of calcareo-silicious conglomerate that adhere thus to the bones, do not appear to have been separated by violence from any mass or stratum of solid stone, but to be merely small local concretions attached to these bones. There are other calcareous concretions that contain no kind of organic nucleus, but are composed of precisely the same materials as those which are formed around the bones, and present many of the irregular shapes of the tuberous roots of vegetables; some of them also have the elongated conical form of slender stalactites, or clustered icicles, a form not unfrequently produced in beds of loose calcareous sand by the constant descent of water along the same small cavity, or crevice, to which a root or worm-hole may have given the first beginning: some of these appeared in the cliffs just mentioned, near Wetmasut. I have seen similar elongated and pseudostalactitic concretions disposed at right angles to the beds of sand, and descending vertically by the side of each other, like the roots of carrots and parsnips, to a depth of nearly two feet, displayed in the section of the cliff near Finale, between Genoa and Nice; and I have also a collection of the same kind from the calcareous sand-beds of Bermuda: their form and

position in the sand caused them to be sent home, under an idea that they were petrified roots.\* Neither the insulated concretions from Ava, nor those adhering to the bones, contain traces of any kind of shell; they also differ mineralogically from all the specimens of tertiary and fresh-water strata in this collection.

Among the most remarkable of these strata is a fresh-water deposit of blue and marly clay, containing abundantly shells that belong exclusively to a large and thick species of *Cyrena*; a dark-coloured slaty limestone, containing shells, which Mr. Sowerby has identified with some of those that occur in our London clay. There is also, from the hills opposite Prome, granular yellow sandy limestone, containing fragments of marine shells, and much resembling the *calcaire grossier* of the environs of Paris; and from the same neighbourhood, and other places higher up the Irawadi, are several specimens of soft and greenish sandstones resembling those of our plastic clay formation. From all these, it appears highly probable, that some of the most important component members of our tertiary strata occur along a great part of the course of the Irawadi, between Ava and Prome, near which latter place the alluvial delta begins, which extends from thence, by Rangoon, to the Gulf of Martaban.

Throughout this district also we seem justified, by the notes of Mr. Crawford, in establishing the existence of the

\* Dr. Fitton, in his excellent account of some geological specimens from the coasts of Australia, (London, 1826,) describes many similar examples of stalactite-shaped and other irregular calcareous concretions, in the sandy strata that occur on many parts of those coasts. He also gives references to authors who have described similar cases in other countries; viz. to Dr. McCulloch, who has described them as existing in Perthshire, Dr. Paris in Cornwall, Captain Lyon in Africa, and other writers.



same distinctions between diluvial and alluvial deposits that are found in the valleys of all our European rivers. To the alluvial belong not only the immense deltas just mentioned as occurring from Prome downwards to the sea, but also a number of islands, that are continually forming and shifting at various places along the whole extent of the actual bed of the Irawadi, more particularly at Rabakyoaktan, and also between the latitudes of  $20^{\circ}$  and  $21^{\circ}$  N. about half way from Prome to Ava, between the towns of Wetmasut and Salè, in the neighbourhood of the fossil bones; to the diluvial deposits we may probably refer the sand and gravel beds containing the mineralized bones, which, as Mr. Crawford has observed, it is impossible to attribute to the waters of the Irawadi, because they occur in a district where the stream is pent up within steep banks which it never overflows, and within which it never rises above twenty feet, while the average elevation of the ossiferous sand and gravel beds is at least sixty feet above the highest floods of this river. He further observes, that whilst the bones and wood of these comparatively elevated plains are mineralized, and converted the one to iron and the other to flint, the remains of modern trees and modern animals that are stranded on the alluvial islands of the existing river, (particularly on an island near Rabakyoaktan,) undergo no such change, but are seen daily falling to decay and crumbling to dust: and he also mentions, for the purpose of disproving its correctness, that it is a popular notion among the natives, who have long observed the existence of this fossil wood, that it has been turned to stone by the waters of the Irawadi: such opinions are very natural on the shores of rivers and lakes where fresh pieces of fossil wood become continually exposed by the wearing away of the banks in which they were imbedded and received their mineral impregnation; the waters of Lough

Neagh in the county of Antrim are in the same way believed by the Irish peasants to possess the property of converting wood to stone.\*

The facts in such cases are, that a succession of fresh pieces of silicified wood is found after storms exposed along the shores, being washed out of the banks that are continually wasting by the waves. The evidence before us then is such, that I believe no practical geologist will be disposed to assign the origin either of the wood or bones under consideration, to the comparatively impotent exertions of existing causes. The question reserved for him is, whether some of these remains may not also occur in the most recent tertiary strata, as well as in the diluvium of Asia :—the analogy of Europe would lead him to expect the same Mammalia in both ; we have however in the specimens before us not one shell of any kind adhering to the bones, or in the agglutinated sand and gravel attached to them ; and in Mr. Crawford's notes, there is no evidence to show that any bones were found, except in the deposits of sand and gravel near Wetmasut, and these differ materially from every specimen in his collection which we recognise as identical with the tertiary strata of our own country.

It is of course impossible for any person who has not been on the spot, to decide with certainty on a question which requires so much minute local investigation by a very experienced observer. I shall therefore conclude with recapitulating the only three speculations that I conceive can be proposed, to explain with probability the date and origin of the bones before us.

\* The idea is probably alluded to in the cry, which is said to have been at one time common in Dublin :

“ Lough Neagh ! buy my hones,  
Once were wood, and now are stones.”



I. Either they were lodged in the most recent marine sediments of the tertiary formation, like the elephant in the crag of Norfolk, the rhinoceros of Placenza, and the mastodon of Dax and Asti ;

II. Or in antediluvian fresh-water deposits, analagous to those which contain the rhinoceros, elephant, hippopotamus, and mastodon in the Val' d'Arno ;

III. Or in diluvial accumulations more recent than either of these formations, and spread irregularly, like a mantle, over them both.

Now, as we find on careful examination of the matrix adhering to these bones, that it contains neither fresh-water nor marine shells, and is wholly different in character from all the specimens which contain such shells, and which thereby enable us to refer them respectively to fresh-water or marine origin ; the most probable conclusion we can arrive at is, that the bones belong to neither of these formations, and that their matrix is of the same diluvial character with that in which the greater part of the fossil bones of Mammalia have been discovered in Europe.

Having proceeded thus far in our consideration of the nature of the bones before us, the time when the animals lived to which they belong, and the most probable causes that brought them to their actual place and condition,—we may now consider the evidence on which it has been asserted in the preceding pages, that the strata subjacent to the Burmese diluvium, along nearly three hundred miles of the course of the Irawadi, from Prome to Ava, present a repetition of the geological structure of Europe.

From the examination of the specimens, compared with the notes in Mr. Crawford's journal, the following formations may be recognised with a greater or less degree of certainty.

1. Alluvium.
2. Diluvium.
3. Fresh-water Marl.
4. London Clay and Calcaire Grossier.
5. Plastic Clay, with its sands and gravel.
6. Transition Limestone.
7. Grauwacke.
8. Primitive Rocks, Marble, Mica Slate.

There are also indications (but less certain) of new red-sandstone and magnesian limestone.

The Alluvium and Diluvium (Nos. 1. and 2.) have been already spoken of.

3. The Fresh-water formation (No. 3.) occurs a little north of the Petroleum Wells, and of the district in which the bones were found near Wetmasut, and is at an elevation of 150 feet above the Irawadi. The specimens of it consist exclusively of marly blue clay, containing fresh-water shells of the genus *Cyrena*: the shells are very thick and heavy, nearly three inches in diameter, and judging from the great quantity imported, must be extremely abundant; and, though accompanied by no other organic remains of any kind, are sufficient to establish an analogy, in the strata containing them, to the fresh-water formations that occur associated with the tertiary strata of Europe. There is, however, no evidence to show any connexion between these fresh-water deposits and the fossil bones or wood: from the portions of iron and gravel adhering to many of the remains of tortoise, crocodile, and hippopotamus, it should seem that they had no connexion with the fresh-water deposit: still the abundance and size of such animals, show that there must have been large rivers or lakes at the time and place in which they lived; though it would not justify our assigning them, without



further examination, to the period in which these fresh-water strata were formed that contain the shells of *Cyrena*.

4. We have from the hills near Prome a coarse-grained yellow shelly and sandy limestone, scarcely distinguishable from the calcaire grossier of Paris; and from several places higher up the Irawadi, particularly at Pugan, we have a dark bituminous slaty limestone, in which Mr. Sowerby has recognised the following fossils as identical with those of the London clay.

*Ancillaria* } Lamarek, Environs de Paris. Only found  
*Murex* } in London clay and calcaire grossier.

*Cerithium* } London clay  
*Oliva* }

*Astarte rugata*. (Min. Conch.) London clay and calcaire grossier.

*Nucula rugosa*. London clay and calcaire grossier.

*Erycina*.

*Tellina*. London clay:—shell figured by Brocchi.

*Teredo*. In blocks of calcareous wood: the same as in the London clay.

Teeth of Shark. London clay.

Scales of fishes. London clay.

Pebbles of rolled black bone.

Unknown radiating fossil, resembling coral.

This recognition of a stratum so nearly resembling the London clay in respect of its peculiar shells and other fossils, in so distant a part of Asia, receives still further interest when viewed in conjunction with the information that has been afforded to us by Mr. Colebrooke, as to the existence of a similar formation at Cooch-Behar in the N.E. border of Bengal, where the Brahmaputra emerges into the plain. Here Mr. Scott discovered strata of yellow and green sand alternating with clay, that lie horizontally

at the height of about 150 feet above the level of the sea, and contain organic remains resembling those of the blue clay of the London and Hampshire basin.

Mr. Scott has also discovered at Robagiri, in this same district, a stratum of white lime-stone containing nummulites and vertebræ of fish, surmounted by beds of clay which contain the same nummulites, and also bones of fish, with shells of *Ostrea* and *Pecten*.

Near Silhet the Laour Hills, composed of white lime-stone loaded with nummulites, form another example of tertiary formations in the eastern extremity of this province. And the section near Madras, given by Mr. Babbington, shows the same tertiary formations to exist also on the western shores of the Bay of Bengal.

All these circumstances taken together, leave not a doubt of the important fact, that the tertiary strata, which a few years since had been noticed only in the basins of Paris and London, are most extensively distributed over the surface of the globe. Their existence is now familiar to us in almost every state in Europe, particularly in the sub-Apenine formations, where they have been so ably described by Brocchi, and are now receiving further illustration from the able hand of Professor Guidotti of Parma. Again, we trace them round the shores and in the islands of the Mediterranean, at Montpellier and Nice, at Savona, Volterra, and Rome,—in the fish-beds of Mount Lebanon,—and the nummulite limestone that forms the foundation of the Pyramids of Egypt. We recognise them also along the northern shores of Africa, and in Malta, Sicily, and Sardinia. Mr. Strangways has traced them largely in the Steppes of southern Russia, and on the shores of the Black Sea and the Caspian.\* The Russians in their expedition

\* See his Map of European Russia, Geol. Trans. 2nd Series, vol. i. plate II.



to Bokaria have found them on the borders of Lake Aral ; and now, on the authority of Mr. Crawford's discoveries, we establish them in a considerable district of the Burmese empire beyond the Ganges.

5. In many of the specimens from near Prome, we find a soft green and yellow sandstone resembling that of our plastic clay formation. Mr. Crawford describes these as associated with reddish clay intermixed with sand and pebbles, in words that are almost equally applicable to our English plastic clay-pits at Reading or Lewisham. He found them in many places where he landed along the shores of the Irawadi ; and near Pagan\* and Wetmasut they were associated with brown coal and petroleum, precisely as we find them containing brown coal all over Europe, and connected with wells of petroleum near Parma, and also in Sicily, and near Baku on the west coast of the Caspian. Near the petroleum wells of Wetmasut, Mr. Crawford also found large selenites resembling those that occur at Newhaven in our plastic clay. In Ava, as in Europe, they seem to be co-extensive with the clay-beds of the tertiary formation.

6. The transition limestone appears, from the few specimens we possess, to be of the same character with that of Europe, but in these specimens there are no organic remains. At a small hill four hundred feet high, called Manlan Hill, near Wetmasut and the petroleum wells, it is associated with grauwacke. There are also specimens of grauwacke much charged with carbonate of lime from so many distant points along the Irawadi, that, in the absence of better information, we may conjecture the fundamental

\* On the west shore of the Irawadi, opposite to Pagan, springs of petroleum ooze from hills composed of immense masses of blue clay ; and if wells were dug, it might be collected as at Wetmasut.—*Mr. Crawford's Notes.*

strata of this region to belong to the transition series, and that they are covered more or less by the tertiary strata and diluvium which we have been considering.

7. From the mountains of the Sakaing Chain, a little above Ava, we have much pure mica slate and statuary marble in its usual connexion with mica slate and hornblende rock; this marble is of the finest quality, and extensively employed by the natives in making images of Buddha.

The specimens afford no decided example of secondary rocks in this district;\* but a reddish sandstone, which is used for architecture in the construction of thrones to receive the images of Buddha, and a limestone which resembles the magnesian limestone of England, may, I think, with more probability be referred to the new red sandstone than to any other formation.

The extent and relative position of all these strata it was impossible to ascertain from the few opportunities afforded to Mr. Crawford of landing from the steam-boat in which he made his voyage; these may become the subject of future investigations. The grand point is, however, established, of the occurrence of formations in the south-east of India, analogous to the tertiary and diluvial formations of Europe, and containing respectively the remains of animals the same which the formations of Europe contain, or very similar to them: these animals must therefore at some time or other, and most probably at the same time, have existed in regions whose climate and inhabitants now differ so widely as those of India and Europe.

It must be confessed, in concluding, that the result of these discoveries, though intensely interesting, and a splendid example of what may be done by the skill and ac-

\* Near Pukangyi.



tivity of one zealous individual, is rather to stimulate than fully gratify our curiosity ; and to excite our hopes for more detailed and more extensive information from the future investigations of the most intelligent among our countrymen, whose professional duties call them to the eastern world.

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## No. XIV.

### ACCOUNT OF THE MATERIALS OF THE MAP.

THE following is a brief account of the documents from which the map accompanying the present work has been compiled. The river Irawadi is delineated from the survey of Colonel Thomas Wood, with a few corrections, by the late Captain Grant. The survey of Colonel Wood, although executed above thirty years ago, when this officer accompanied the late Colonel Symes in his mission to Ava, is still, and after several more recent ones, the best extant,—a sufficient proof of the skill and accuracy with which it was originally executed. The country forming the delta of the Irawadi, from Bassien to Rangoon, is taken from a sketch by Captain Alves, whose name I have frequently mentioned in the body of the work. The Saluen River and the province of Martaban generally, are taken from the surveys of Captain Grant. Much of the interior of the Burman dominions is from the sketches of Dr. Francis Buchanan Hamilton, who, like Colonel Wood, accompanied Colonel Symes in the first mission of that officer to Ava. Recent and actual inquiries have, in many cases, confirmed the geographical speculations—for, from the circumstances of his situation, they generally amounted to nothing more—of this gentleman ; a decided test of the

care and sagacity with which they were conducted. Arracan is delineated from Colonel Wood's surveys; and the sources of the Burhampooter and Irawadi are laid down from the reports of two enterprising young officers, Lieutenants Burlton and Wilcox. Cassay, or Munipoor, is delineated from the surveys of Lieutenant Pemberton, another enterprising and intelligent officer. The coast of Arracan is delineated from the chart of Captain Crawford, a skilful and experienced marine surveyor, well known for his surveys of the China Seas and Straits of Malacca. The country of Assam is taken from the surveys of Colonel Wood; and that between Arracan and Bengal from those of Lieutenant Fisher. The survey of the road leading through the district of Thalen, or Chalin, and through the pass of the mountains into Arracan, together with that of the Lain and Pegu rivers, were executed by Captain Trant, a most intelligent and talented officer, who was actively engaged throughout the Burmese war. Captain Trant is the same gentleman whose interesting narrative of the route from the Irawadi into Arracan, after the termination of hostilities, I have referred to in the body of the work.

The map has been compiled by Mr. John Walker, of the Admiralty, a gentleman skilled in every branch of Eastern geography; and as the author had no share in its execution, he may say, without vanity, that it will be found to exhibit the best view of Burman geography, a branch of knowledge, however, as yet extremely imperfect, which has been offered to the public.



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